Medieval Indian Culture

Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava

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MEDIEVAL INDIAN CULTURE

By
ASHIRBADI LAL SRIVASTAVA
M.A., PH.D., D.LITT. (LUCK.), D.LITT. (AGRA)
Professor Emeritus of History
AGRA COLLEGE, AGRA

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Preface

The Medieval Indian Culture has been written in response to many requests from brother-teachers and students from several parts of the country. It is based on a close study of the original source-material in Persian, Sanskrit, Hindi and other languages and embodies the author's experience and contemplation as a teacher of the subject for more than thirty-five years. The plan followed is topical, as no other method can be suitable for writing a history of the culture of a vast country like India. The book contains sixteen essays dealing with various aspects of the subject. The author has tried to be as objective as possible and to make the subject as interesting as it could be. It is hoped that students of Medieval Indian Culture would find in these pages much, if not all, that they need know about the subject. The author will consider his labours amply rewarded if this book proves useful for senior students in our universities and colleges.

The author is thankful to Messrs Shiva Lal Agarwala and Co. (P.) Ltd. for having brought out the book in a short time.

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January 1, 1964

A. L. Srivastava

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Rajeshkumar Gambhava

I

Nature of the State in Medieval India

The State was a Theocracy

The Medieval Indian State was a theocracy. The Chamber's Twentieth Century Dictionary (1950 edition), page 1005, defines theocracy as "that constitution of a state in which the Almighty is regarded as the sole sovereign, and the laws of the realm as divine commands rather than the human ordinances—the priesthood necessarily becoming the officers of the invisible ruler." Now, it is universally admitted that God is the only true ruler of a Islamic State and that the earthly rulers are merely His agents, whose sole duty is to enforce and spread the Quranic law, which is divine in the eye of all Muslims. It is also equally universally known that in every Muslim country theologians are the only jurists, for the civil law is merged in and is subordinated to the canon law, and to understand and appreciate it, a jurist must master the Quran and the *Hadis* and must be a *maulvi*. This class, called the Ulama, wielded enormous influence and shared power with the Muslim sultan in India and other countries under Muslim rule. It did not matter if the Ulama were not an ordained clergy or even a hereditary body, and claimed no immunity from sacredotal error. Every student of Medieval Indian history knows that they had established their right not only to interpret the *shar'* but also to advise the crown in the matters of administration. The ruler is, by the unanimous consent of Muslim jurists, the protector of Islam and the upholder of its prestige and dignity. He is not only to follow the Muslim religion and law in his personal life, but also to enforce it in the administration of the country. "The protection of *shariat* (Muslim religion and law)," writes Ibn Hasan, "has two aspects : The propagation of the knowledge of *shar'* and its enforcement as law within the state. The one implies the maintenance of a class of scholars devoted to the study, the teaching and the propagation of that knowledge, and the other the appointment of one from among those scholars, who is distinguished in learning and piety, as an adviser to the king in all his acts of state. The scholars devoted to that knowledge are called Ulama (the learned) and the one selected from among them is termed *Shaikh-ul-Islam*."[1] The sultan was not only bound to consult him in all matters of law and religion, but had also to follow his advice and show him proper respect and uphold his prestige. The duty of the Shaikh-ul-Islam was to supervise and to control education, and to exercise a kind of censorship over the books taught in various educational institutions and over the ideas and morals of the people. He was the representative of the Ulama and it was his duty to bring "to the notice of the king what he thought detrimental or prejudicial to the interest of his religion, and the king had little option in acting upon such an advice."[2] He had to keep himself in touch with Muslim scholars, as the judicial officers were appointed from that class of Muslims only, and to ensure a regular supply of Muslim theologians. Thus all the essential features of a theocracy were present in the constitution of the Islamic state in Medieval India.

It should be mentioned, however, that some modern scholars, notably Dr. I. H. Qureshi, protest against this name,

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[1] Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 255-56.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 258.

General John Zisca, who had employed them about 1420 A.D. against the Austrian cavalry. His invention seems to have died with him, for we find no use of carts in any other European battle in the 15th century.

Babar, the founder of the Mughal empire in India, had fought with the Turks, the Uzbeks, the Mongols and the Afghans before coming to India, and he had carefully studied the military tactics of all these races. He was a great admirer and imitator of the Rumi mode of fighting. He was the first to introduce in India *fire-arms* and to make use of them in his battles, particularly at Panipat and at Khanwa. Fire-works have been known in this country since time immemorial, such as, fire-balls, old type rockets (*hawai*), fire-wheels (*charkhi*) and squibs (*patakha*), but these were not fire-arms and were not an effective aid to the fighting troops. Babar brought light artillery pieces and guns which could be carried on the backs of camels. He cast a large mortar at Agra in October, 1526, a few months after the first battle of Panipat. So Babar could make use of a large mortar at the battle of Khanwa. The introduction of field artillery, therefore, marked the advent of a new age in Indian warfare as far as the development of military science and tactics was concerned.

Both at Panipat and at Khanwa Babar arranged his army in such a manner as to turn it into a fort or laagar of wagon-carts guarded by fire-arms. He drew up his army to the east of the town of Panipat with his face to the south, and protected his front by a laagar with 700 movable wagon-carts (*araba*) the wheels of every two of which were tied together by ropes made of raw hides. In between the sets of carts, he left sufficient gaps—60 to 70 yards each—in order to allow a hundred or more horsemen to charge through abreast. He raised six or seven movable breast-works (*tura*) between every pair of guns to afford shelter to his gunners. Artillery was ranged behind the breast-works, Ustad Ali on the right side and Mustafa on the left. Behind the artillery was stationed his advance-guard (*harawal*). At the back of it was the centre (*ghul*), where Babar himself took up his position. The centre was divided into two divisions, right centre and left centre, Babar himself riding in between the two. His right wing (*baranghar*) rested on and was sheltered by the town of Panipat, while the left wing (*javanghar*) was posted in the dry bed of the river Yamuna, then two miles east of Panipat and not ten miles as now, and was protected by ditches and an *abatis* of felled trees. On the extreme right of the line was posted the right flanking party (right *tulghuma*) and on the extreme left, the left flanking party (left *tulghuma*). These flanking parties consisted of select Turkish cavalry whose main duty was to turn the enemy's flanks and take him in the rear. Behind the line at a little distance, there was the reserve of picked horsemen.[9]

The disposition of Babar's army at Khanwa was practically the same as at Panipat. There were, however, slight differences in the two. At Khanwa the number of wagon-carts arranged in the front line was one thousand and not seven hundred as at Panipat, and these were tied together by iron chains and not by ropes of animal skin as at Panipat. Further Babar had a large mortar, which he did not have at Panipat. Instead of breast-works the Mughal king had constructed wheeled wooden tripod stands with movable shields or mantlets fixed to them, which afforded shelter to the gunners, besides serving as resting places for the guns. In both the battles Babar waited for the enemy to take up the offensive, and then ordered his men to open fire. At a psychological moment his flanking parties were directed to roll up the Rajput line from the right and the left and attack the enemy in the rear. The scientific combination of artillery and cavalry gave a decided superiority, though not in numbers, to the Mughals. Their system was marked by mobility and speed, and by the scientific use of the combined arms, particularly artillery and cavalry.[10]

Akbar improved the system by the "greater use of wheeled carriages for his artillery, the lengthening of the barrel of the hand-musket...and the increase of 'harque buses on forks,' i.e., resting on a hook fixed in a wall or a frame on the back of an elephant or a camel called *gajnal* and *shutarnal*."[11]

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[9] *Baburnama* (Eng. Tr. by A. S. Beveridge), pp. 334-35, 568.

[10] A. L. Srivastava, *The Mughal Empire* (3rd ed.), pp. 19, 28-29.

Two other novelties introduced by Akbar were his complete disregard of the inclemencies of the weather and the brushing aside of all imperial formalities and paraphernalia during urgent military campaigns. Often did he start on an expedition during the scorching days of May and June or in the midst of rain and floods of July and August., This confounded his adversaries who believed that campaigning was impossible during the months of the rainy season, and that the armies could move out after Dasehra only when the roads were beginning to become dry. May and June were unthinkable for earlier Muslim rulers and chiefs, and their generals. Akbar's expedition against Abdulla Khan Uzbek of Malwa in July-August, 1564, that against Khan-i-zaman and his brothers in May-June, 1567, his lightning march and second Gujarat campaign in August-September, 1573 and his expedition to Patna in June-August, 1574 amply illustrate the point.

Adoption of Mughal system by Indian rulers

The Mughal system of warfare was imitated by contemporary Indian princes in the 16th century. Sher Shah Sur borrowed it and used it with great success. The most successful imitator of the new school was Bahadur Shah of Gujarat. He organised his army on the Mughal model and gathered a formidable park of artillery commanded by the renowned general, Rumi Khan. The superiority of this new school was proved by the great successes of Bahadur Shah from Sindh to Malwa and as far as Burhanpur in the south. But the system failed against Humayun, because the latter was a master of the Mughal system of warfare and because he resorted to guerilla tactics and made the army of Bahadur Shah disperse without fighting, by cutting all his supplies. By the end of the 16th century, the Mughal system of warfare had beome common in most parts of Northern India.

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[11] *Military History, etc.*, p. 55.

Improved fortification

Along with the development of the military organisation and art of warfare there was a great improvement in the manner and system of fortification during the medieval age. This was the result of the introduction of artillery and the general advance of civilization. Forts were fortified with large pieces of cannon and their management and defence were entrusted to commandants with well-defined duties. At the head of the commandants there was a supreme commandant who divided the gates and the fort-walls among his colleagues for the purpose of supervision and defence. As a rule the superintendent of artillery was posted inside the royal fort and was responsible for its defence.

Scientific siege operations

There was a corresponding improvement in the art of conducting the siege. The enemy fort was completely surrounded and batteries were set up all round to batter the walls and effect breaches in the enemy defences. Mines were dug to near the foot of fort-walls, and these were filled with gunpowder and exploded. At the same time large balls were fired from the batteries so as to paralyse the defence and strike terror into the heart of the people inside the fort. The *sābāt* (or covered ways) of two parallel walls of the length of bow-shot was erected near the foot of the fort. From the top of the *sābāt* heavy guns were fired at the people and at the concentrations of defence inside the fort. The *sābāts* served as protection for the besiegers, particularly those who were engaged in the work of digging mines and exploding them. This method was successfully tried by Akbar at Chittor in 1567-1568. As a preliminary to siege operations a careful survey of the area and the base of the fort was conducted. At the siege of Ranthambhor in 1569, Akbar reconnoitred the fort and its defences from the top of an adjacent hill. There a lofty *sābāt*, as high as the fort itself, was constructed opposite to the main gate. Great culverins, each of which was dragged over the level ground by 200 pairs of oxen, were carried over the hillock of the Ran by an army of 'iron-armed' bearers. These culverins were capable of throwing 30 maunds of iron balls and 60 maunds of stone balls. It was on account of such improved methods of siege operations that Akbar was able to capture the most notable forts of Northern and Southern India, which were till then considered impregnable.

The new mode of siege operations remained in force throughout the Mughal period. Some slackness did creep into the Mughal military organisation during the reigns of Akbar's successors until the system became ineffective about the middle of the 18th century. The system became obsolete after the introduction of Western military science in the land.

Rajeshkumar Gambhava

3

Social Condition

Hindu society

The Hindu society presented a sorry spectacle on the eve of the Turkish invasion of our country. It was divided into high castes, low castes, and untouchables (*antyaj*). The caste rules and taboos had become more rigid than in the preceding centuries. The Sudras were divided into two categories ; those of the lower category were looked upon as inferior as the untouchables.[1] The number of mixed castes had gone upto 64, and these too were divided into two groups. Those belonging to *anuloma* group (i.e., born of higher caste males and lower caste females) were considered twice-born and were entitled to sacred thread and other sacraments ; but the *pratiloma* (born of lower caste fathers and higher caste mothers) were considered as belonging to low caste. There is no doubt that the lower orders of the society were discriminated against and even despised ; but the picture of the condition of the Vaish and Sudra castes and of the untouchables as given by Al-Beruni seems to be exaggerated and taken from the Hindu Smritis rather than from the actual conditions prevailing in the 11th century A.D. The caste rules and the rules governing the relations between the various castes as laid down in the shastras were not strictly followed. Some Brahmans followed the occupation of the Kshatriyas and some Sudras, "in the teeth of the canonical rule forbidding the lower *varnas* to take up the functions of the higher ones, assumed the Kshatriya's occupation of ruling and fighting."[2] As early as the 7th century A.D. Sindh was ruled over by a Sudra dynasty, and there were some Sudra rulers in other parts of the country. Al-Beruni apparently exaggerated when he wrote that even the Vaish was not permitted to hear or recite Vedic mantras, and that if he uttered the sacred word his tongue was cut off by order of the magistrate.[3] But the most important reason against accepting Al-Beruni's description at its face value is his omission to mention the Kayastha caste which had come into existence as an important caste in the latter half of the 9th century A.D. The individuals of this caste had risen "to the highest public offices in different tracts" in the 11th and the following centuries.[4] Had Al-Beruni taken pains to study the Hindu caste system prevailing in the early years of the 11th century, he would certainly have mentioned the Kayastha as a notable caste, specially as the original Hindu shastras had made no mention of it. The first notable impact of the Muslim rule during the Sultanate period was on the status and occupation of the Brahmans. As the Brahmans could not earn enough by scholarly pursuits the new Smritis laid down that they could pursue agriculture through hired labour and in times of special distress they could themselves cultivate the fields. It was further explained that both agriculture and trade were the occupations of the people of all castes.[5] In view of the change the rank and file among the Brahmans could not devote the same time and attention to the Vedic studies and spiritual and intellectual pursuits as they used to in the past. The new commentaries on the Smritis therefore permitted them to give less time to their

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[1] U. C. Ghoshal, *Struggle for Empire*, p. 475.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 477.

[3] Al-Beruni's *India*, Vol. I, p. 125.

[4] *Struggle for Empire*, p. 477.

[5] *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 57.

original occupation and to content themselves with the study of just a part of the Vedas in which they were interested and in some cases with that of the Puranas alone.[6] This was a frank admission of the decline of Vedic studies during the Sultanate period (1206-1526), and with it of that in the importance of the Brahman caste. Another impact was the change in Brahmanic attitude towards the Sudras. It was now said that they could listen to the recitations of the Puranas and that it was permissible to eat the food of certain Sudra castes under some special circumstances, and that the Sudras could now engage themselves in dealing with some of the prohibited articles of sale, including meat.[7]

Although the common practice was to marry in one's own caste, inter-caste marriages were not unknown. It was laid down in the shastras that the marriage of girls of inferior castes by the twice-born or higher caste males was forbidden in the Kaliyuga. But such marriages did take place, though these were considered inferior and undesirable. As in ancient times prohibited degrees of marriage were commended. Widow remarriage was also forbidden. The kings generally had two classes of wives : married wives and concubines. Divorce was not allowed, and the marriage was separated by death. A woman guilty of adultery was to be driven out of the house by her husband.

The position of women was not as high as in ancient India. No woman was allowed to enjoy an independent status. When unmarried, she had to be under the strict supervision of her father ; aftermarriage, under that of her husband, and after her husband's demise under her grown up sons. Nevertheless, it was laid down that a husband must honour his wife and provide her gifts of ornaments and good food, and when he went abroad, he must provide for the maintenance of his wife during his absence. Even if one had to cast his wife aside for some valid reasons, he had to make provision for her maintenance. A wife guilty of adultery too had to be provided for. If a husband ill-treated his wife, he was to be meted out with punishment by the king. Nevertheless the shastras laid down that the woman was socially and spiritually inferior to man. The position of women worsened during the period of the Sultanate of Delhi (1206-1526). On account of fear from Muslims and other high-handedness, new rules were made to enforce early marriage. It was laid down that the girls should be given away in marriage at the age of seven, ten and at the most twelve years. A marriage at or after the age of puberty was considered a bad marriage and a matter of sin for the parents. Like the child marriage, of which there is no mention in Al-Beruni's famous work, the seclusion of Hindu women also came in the wake of the Muslim conquest of Northern India.[8] These two institutions—child marriage and *purdah*—brought about the segregation of girls and a degradation in the condition of Hindu women during the medieval age.

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[6] *Ibid*, p. 577.

[7] *Ibid*, pp. 577-79.

Sati was common, though not compulsory. Al-Beruni says that a widow had to choose between two alternatives, viz., remaining a widow all her life or burning herself on the funeral pyre of her dead husband, and she usually chose the latter alternative. The institution of Devadasis in principal temples was in existence. Quite a large number of beautiful maidens were maintained for music and song in important temples in most parts of the country. According to Al-Beruni the priests were opposed to the institution of Devadasis, but the kings maintained them for the sake of revenue. One important change regarding the status of women was the fact that they were allowed to possess certain kind of property, besides what was known as *stridhana*. Contrary to the Smriti rule of the perpetual dependence of women, princesses and queens wielded great political authority. There are instances of Hindu women who ruled over certain parts of the country at this time, notably in Kashmir and in South India. Queen Rudramba successfully ruled the Kakatiya kingdom for forty years. Polygamy was permitted, and rulers and princes had plurality of wives ; but the common people were monogamus.

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[8] Dr. Waheed Mirza (vide *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 609) says that *purdah* was unknown in Muslim countries outside India in medieval times, that it had its birth in Northern India on account of the peculiar social conditions prevailing in the twelfth century, and that it might have been due to Rajput influence. This is a novel theory. Rajput history gives no indication of *purdah* before Muslim contact. In fact their women took part in battles and in other outdoor activities even till as late as the 14th century A.D. There was no *purdah* in those parts of India—notably Southern tracts—where Muslim influence was negligible. And *burqah* is a peculiar Muslim institution.

Although people in general were vegetarian, meat diet was not forbidden, and the drinking of liquor too was fairly common. But women of the Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaishya castes were forbidden drink. Nevertheless in actual practice royal ladies and courtesans did drink on special occasions. Al-Beruni says that the Brahmans abstained from all kinds of meat. He gives a list af animals and birds whose flesh was not to be eaten by any caste except the Sudra.[9] The Sudras were not allowed to sell wine, but they could drink it, if they so liked.

It was laid down that in the daily routine of the people bathing was compulsory for all the castes atleast once a day. Perfumes, oils, and other articles of toilet were used and the keeping of long hair was the fashion. In Northern parts men wore *dhotis* and turban and women *saris*. Well-to-do people put on a kind of jacket (*angika*) with long sleeves. In South India both men and women wore loin-cloth, and went barefooted. But the use of jewellery both by the males and the females was common throughout the country. The standard of living of the upper class people was high. Kings and nobles lived in splendid, well-decorated and furnished palaces. Kings and royal officers ate in the utensils of gold and silver. The residences of well-to-do people too were well-furnished and royal processions were marked with splendour and gorgeousness.

The people were fond of music, dance and drama. The common musical instruments were flute, *vina* and drums ; stringed instruments and trumpets too were common. People, particularly boys and girls, played with balls and enjoyed 'the swing'. Indoor games, like the chess, were common.

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[9] Al-Beruni's *India*, Vol. II, pp. 151-52.

The two most undesirable features of the Hindu society were untouchability and slavery. The touch of a chandal was considered defilement, and the person concerned had to purify himself by bathing with his clothes. Different penances were prescribed for the Brahmans for various types of defilement, such as, conversing with the chandals, joining them on a journey or a trip, touching them, drawing water from a well or a pond owned by a chandal, drinking water from a chandal's vessel, eating a chandal's food or living for some time in the same house with him, etc. Slavery was fairly common and slaves were distributed as ordinary gifts or presents among friends. Muslims took delight in enslaving Hindu women *en masse* from the highest to the lowest rank, and many of them were forced to entertain the Muslim court and the nobility with dance and music. We have instances of converted Hindu women being sent as presents to the emperor of China and being distributed among the nobility by Muhammad bin Tughlaq. Slavery was a recognised institution in the Hindu empire of Vijayanagara.

The old custom of religious suicide by the Hindus continued during the period of the Sultanate of Delhi. It was considered a great religious merit to commit suicide at certain sacred places as Prayag and Kashi. Hindu devotees would cut off their limbs or their necks with sharp swords in fulfilment of their vows before their deities. Ibn Batuta says that the Hindus would commit suicide by drowning themselves voluntarily into the Ganga as an act of spiritual merit. Another important custom of the Hindus was to undertake religious pilgrimages to Prayag, Puri, Konarka, Gaya, Kashi, Dwarka, and other holy places. The veneration of the cow was universal among the Hindus of all parts of India. The sentiment of veneration for the cow was extended to other animals also, and a long list of penances was given for killing different kinds of birds, to say nothing of animals.

The standard of honesty of the people was high. Foreign writers such as Idrisi and Marco Polo bear testimony to the generally high character of Indians. It was an invariable practice for people to pay off their debts without going to court of law. If the debtor could not pay it off in his lifetime he enjoined it upon his sons and grandsons to pay it off without murmur. But the people in general were superstitious and had great faith in omens, lucky stars, auspicious and inauspicious moments and days, etc. On the whole Hindus during this period were honest and just and were noted for their fidelity to their word and to their engagements. Such was the opinion of foreign travellers like Idrisi, Al-Beruni and Marco Polo.

During the Mughal age (1526-1803) too the Hindus formed the vast majority of the country's population and included the Jains, the Buddhists and the Sikhs. The upper class consisted of Brahmans, Rajputs, Kayasthas and Vaishyas, and they did not inter-dine or inter-marry among themselves. The Brahmans were engaged in priestly and teaching professions, and many of them, unlike the pre-Muslim period, had taken to agriculture. A small section among them like Gujarati Nagars had taken to the study of Persian and were employed as officers. The Rajputs, as a rule, were military men and their tribal chiefs were rulers of extensive territories and held high ranks as *mansabdars* in the Mughal imperial service. Vaishyas formed the mercantile community and the Kayasthas were engaged largely as clerks, secretaries (*munshis*) and revenue officers. Many Hindus of the lower castes, notably in Bengal and some other parts, had, owing to pressure of circumstances, embraced Islam. Some high caste Hindus of the Panjab and Kashmir had likewise felt compelled to abandon their ancestral faith. Several new sub-castes had come into existence during the Mughal period, such as the Kazi, the Toshakhani, the Agha and Mulla sub-castes among the Brahmans of Kashmir, Munshi among those of Gujarat, Qanungo and Raizada among the Kayasthas, and Bakhshi and Mehta among the first three higher castes in several parts of the country. The caste system, though it divided the Hindu society into compartments, furnished means of corporate organisation. It supervised the morals of its members and tried to protect the community as far as possible from the onslaught of Islamic proselytism.

The Hindu society remained practically static throughout the medieval age (1200-1803). In fact it deteriorated morally and materially. The government, in the Sultanate Period, was tyrannical and not only it did not encourage honesty and frankness, but it also repressed the people and did whatever it could to demoralise them. From the reign of Akbar to the end of the first ten years of the reign of Aurangzeb, the Hindus, generally speaking, enjoyed religious toleration and freedom to work and live their own life. But even during this period of comparative tolerance and justice manly virtues of courage, honesty and frankness and resistance to oppression were not tolerated. The result was that the Hindus as a people developed a character of low cunning, deceit and flattery in order to get on in the world. In short, they suffered a great deal of moral and intellectual degeneration. The historian Sir Jadunath Sarkar justly holds the medieval Muslim government responsible for the Hindu degeneration of that age, and considers it the greatest disservice done to this country.

Muslim society

Throughout the Sultanate period the foreign Central Asian Muslims, particularly the Turks during the 13th, 14th and the first half of the 15th century and the Afghans in the second half of the 15th century and the first quarter of the 16th century, formed the ruling class. Associated with the Turks were the Persians, the Arabs, the Abyssinians and the Egyptians. These foreigners constituted an exclusive ruling oligarchy. The Turk was the most jealous guardian of this foreign aristocracy. He was, in fact, its leader throughout the 13th century. He monopolised power in Hindustan, and played the role of the leader of the Muslim peoples in Asia. He believed in the policy of racialism and rigidly excluded the Indian Muslim community, not only from its share in the power, but also from the State service. From Qutb-ud-din Aibak down to Kaiqubad the Sultanate rigidly adhered to the policy of Turkish monopoly of authority, and Balban openly despised 'low-born non-Turks'. Towards the end of the 13th century countless Muslim refugees entered India from the Central Asian countries and swelled the rank of the ruling class. This led to a mixing up of the Muslims of different races and nationalities. Inter-marriages among them gradually brought about their fusion. The purity of blood of which the Turk was arrogantly proud gave place to a heterogeneous race. With the advent of the rule of the Khaljis these social forces began to work so powerfully that the Turk began to lose his monopoly of power, and for the first time in the history of the Sultanate the policy of associating Indian converts with the administration was adopted. The credit for this must go to Ala-ud-din Khalji who appointed the capable, though in some respects pervert, slave, Malik Kafur, as his deputy. The process continued under the Tughlaqs, and Firoz Shah's prime minister Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul and his son, themselves Hindu converts to Islam, encouraged it and patronised the new Muslims.

The converted Muslim population, which must have been very small at the beginning of our period, began gradually to increase with the expansion of the Turkish dominion and authority. It constituted mostly of Hindus of low castes, who for various reasons had abandoned the religion of their forefathers and embraced Islam. The Indian Muslims were not admitted into the aristocracy of the conquerors and were not given a share in their social and economic privileges. For a long time they constituted a separate and distinct class in the general Muslim population of the country. Some of them who received education betrayed a morbid sense of inferiority and smarted under wrong and discrimination shown to them by their foreign brethren-in-faith. There was a good deal of antipathy among the Muslims on account of their religious differences, especially among the Sunnis and the Shias. The rivalry between the Central Asian Sunnis (whose number was very large in Northern India) and the Persian Shias (who formed a minority) lasted throughout the medieval age. The Mughal emperors sometime leaned towards the one and sometime towards the other group in order to maintain some kind of a balance so that neither of them became so powerful as to constitute a problem. The Afghans were sworn enemies of the Mughals and looked upon the Mughals as usurpers.

The Muslim population was divided into two categories, viz., the men of the sword and the men of the pen. Those who belonged to the former category were mostly soldiers of foreign origin. They were graded into Khan, Malik, Amir, Sipahsalar and Sar-i-Khail. This was a descending hierarchy in which the Khan occupied the highest place and the Sar-i-Khail the lowest ; but this seems to have been a paper organisation. In actual practice it had begun to disrupt quite early, and in the 14th and 15th centuries it had lost all its significance. The men of the pen were mostly non-Turkish foreigners or their descendants. They supplied recruits to the clerical, educational and religious services. The most important section in this group was that of the ecclesiastics or theologians, who were called the Ulama. These were clergymen, teachers and judges who exercised considerable influence on the government and the rank and file of Muslim society.

The lowest strata of the Muslim society was composed mainly of the artisans, the shopkeepers and the clerks, and petty traders. At the bottom there were *qalandars* and other beggars. One most important group was of Sufi saints, who had their hermitages outside the cities, and wielded a great influence. During this period Muslims were mostly confined to cities and very few of them lived in the villages. Another element of the Muslim population was that of slaves whose number was large. Every king and noble and every well-to-do man, whether in state service or in business, owned slaves who were employed in household work and in the numerous royal *karkhanas*. Beggars too were influential among the Musalmans, for poverty was looked upon as a road to piety.

Muslims were essentially a city people. They dreaded village life. Although their main professions were those of soldiers and civil officers in state services, some of them were engaged in trade and commerce. Quite a good number engaged themselves in shop-keeping and teaching in primary schools. The Muslims of Indian origin followed handicrafts and petty trade in cities. A very small number of them took to agriculture. Converted Hindus were employed as artisans, because the artisan class was first to be converted to Islam and employed by the conquerors. There were also Muslim butchers, water-carriers, corpse-washers, engravers, painters, illuminators and physicians. Some of them were calligraphists and copyists of the Quran. Quite a large number of them were weavers, washermen, barbers, carpenters, blacksmiths, tailors and wood-cutters. The high state services were practically monopolised by the Iranis and the Turanis. The Hindustani Muslims in state services were not large in number.

The well-to do Muslims were particular about their dress. They wore a long upper garment called *qaba*. Besides this they put on a shirt (*qamis*) and trousers. The well-to-do put on an overcoat called *dagla* in the cold weather. At home they wore *lungis* instead of trousers. The ulama were distinguished by their large turbans and long sleeved tunics. They tied the strings of their coat on the right hand side. Their women were clad in close-fitting trousers, shirt and a long scarf. Some women put on thin caps on their head. The women of Kashmir wore a long tunic coming down to the feet, but no trousers. Both men and women made use of a waist-band.

The most important Muslim festivals were Id-ul-Fitr, Id-ul-Zuha, Muharram, Shab-i-Barat, the Prophet's anniversary and Nauroz. The usual ceremonies were *Aqiqa* (shaving of head), *Bisimillah* (maktab), circumcision, marriage and funeral ceremonies. Among the posthumous ceremonies the most important were *Sayyum* (the third day) and *Chihillum* (the 40th day). The Muslim community, like the Hindu, believed in superstitions. Astrology had a great hold on them. They would consult the astrologer before entering on an enterprise. Very often they consulted the book of Hafiz of Shiraz for omen. The Muslims believed in witch-craft and in necromancy. They had faith in sorcery. In this respect they did not differ from the Hindus, and the community was becoming gradually Indianised.

Islam prohibits the use of intoxicants, particularly liquor. But in defiance of the Quranic prohibition upper class Muslims were intemperate and fond of wine. The Ulama or religious men too were not free from the evil. Amir Khusrau condemns them for their secret indulgence in forbidden liquor. Almost all the sultans of Delhi were addicted to drink. Wine parties were frequently held by the nobility and when Ala-ud-din forbade the manufacture of wine, smuggling of liquor became a common practice. We are told by Ibn Batuta that wine used to be smuggled concealed in loads of fuel in carts from villages in the vicinity of Delhi. The Pathans were addicted to opium and *post* drink. Even Akbar drank wine occasionally. During the Mughal period we have the record of numerous members of the upper class Muslim families dying of excessive drink. All the three sons of Akbar were addicted to drink and two of them died of *delirium tremens*. Jahangir survived on account of his strong constitution, but he beat all previous record in the matter of drinking. He offered wine to his son Prince Khurram when the latter was 24 years of age and commended it by quoting the following verse :

> "Wine is a raging enemy, a prudent friend ;
> A little is an antidote, but much a snake's poison ;
> In much there is no little injury, in little there is much profit."[10]

It is tedious to recount cases of deaths of nobles from excessive drinking. It is said that Aurangzeb confessed that there were only two men in Hindustan, viz., himself and his chief qazi, Abdul Wahab, who did not drink. But Manucci says that Abdul Wahab drank in secret. One might add that at least once in life Aurangzeb too touched wine with his lips, when he was infatuated by a dancing girl. Women too were known to drink. Even religious classes sometimes drank secretly.

The Muslim community had weakness for miracles and saintship. It was, therefore, not unusual for an ambitious *pir* to claim supernatural powers. Some of them, like Ahmad

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[10] *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, p. 306.

Bahari, claimed Godhood and cried out : '*Anal Haq*' (I am God). It was the common practice for Muslim women to visit the tombs of saints and to worship them. Firoz Tughluq tried to stop the practice, but without success. Aurangzeb also failed to enforce his orders. Both men and women held the Prophet's foot-print (Qadam-i-Rasul) in great esteem and idolatrous adoration.

The upper class Muslims were extravagant. They overspent their income and incurred huge debts. The reason was that throughout the medieval period and more particularly during the Mughal age the property and assets of the deceased nobles were confiscated by the state on one plea or another. So everyone thought of enjoying the day, and saved nothing for the future.

The Muslim women of India did not possess the privileged position of the Arab women. They occupied a subordinate position, and were subjected to the will of their polygamous husbands. As any free born Muhammadan could marry at least four wives at a time, no woman in a Muslim household could claim to be the mistress of her house. Nevertheless, Muslim women were treated well, as the honour of the family was supposed to depend upon the chastity of women folk. They observed strict *purdah* and hardly did any upper class woman come out without being covered in *burqa*. Muslims were very jealous about their wives and did not permit even near relations to have a look at them. Upper class Muslim women were taught the Quran and other religious books. As has been shown in a separate chapter there were quite a good number of highly educated Muslim women in Medieval India.

Rajeshkumar Gambhava

4

Economic Condition

During the medieval age our country was famous for her fabulous wealth. The story of India's enormous riches tempted Mahmud of Ghazni and his plundering hordes to invade the prosperous capitals of her kingdoms and sack her temples. One can easily believe from the contemporary accounts of the vast plunder acquired by Muhammad bin Qasim in Sindh and Multan and Mahmud of Ghazni in Hindustan proper—coined and uncoined money, precious stones of various kinds and a variety of other goods valued at crores of rupees—that the stories were not fairy tales and had foundation in fact. That the early Turkish invaders could not completely drain away our wealth, much less uproot our sources of production, is clear from the enormous booty that the Sultans of Delhi gathered in their expeditions, both in northern and southern India, and huge expenses incurred by them on their wars and the money lavished by them on their courts and households. And yet, there was left enough in the land to be carried away by Timur at the end of the 14th century from only one corner of our country, not in thousands but in hundreds of thousands. The economic prosperity of our country, before and during the Turko-Afghan period, is thus beyond question.

The main source of our wealth was agriculture. The natural fertility of the soil in most parts, copious rainfall and irrigation facilities provided since the early times and their systematical reinforcement by Firoz Tughluq, combined with the industry of our peasants, led to the production of so much of corn that it not only supplied the needs of the country but was also exported abroad. Rich crops, such as, cotton, sugarcane, lintels, oilseeds, poppy, indigo, etc., were produced on a large scale. Fruits of numerous variety were produced in many parts of the country. It will be recalled that a considerable portion of the revenues of Firoz Tughluq came from gardens. Agricultural prosperity continued throughout the Mughal period also. But, though agriculture was the occupation of the bulk of the people, there were many important industries in the rural as well as the urban areas. Among the non-agricultural products, fisheries, minerals, salt, opium and liquor were most important. Gold, iron and copper were found at many places. Centuries before the advent of the Turks, our country was industrially well-organised. There were guilds and crafts in the villages and in towns which carried on widespread commerce. In spite of the absence of State support, these industrial institutions survived the shocks of foreign invasions and internal revolutions. There were two kinds of industries—those that were under state patronage and those that were purely private. The sultans had their own *karkhanas* or workshops in Delhi, which employed many thousands of weavers of silk and other stuffs. Every year thousands of yards of silk and cotton cloth was produced by the royal workshops for preparing robes of honour. There were other kinds of workshops, such as, those for gold and silver articles and embroidery, and so on. As for private industries, the most important among them were the textile industry, including the manufacture of cotton, woollen and silk cloth, dyeing industry, printing industry, calico printing industry, sugar industry, metal work, paper industry, stone and brick works and various other industries, such as, inlay of stone work, enamelling, etc. There were some minor industries, such as, shoe-making, manufacture of arms, manufacture of liquors, brass and other metal industries and clay industry. Textile industries were common to all the provinces of the country ; but Bengal and Gujarat were particularly renowned for the manufacture and export of textile goods.

Although during the Turko-Afghan period the State did not adopt a comprehensive economic policy with the object of improving the material condition of the people, yet the volume of trade, both internal and external, carried on by our countrymen, was enormous. India had commercial relations with the outside world. She exported agricultural goods, textile manufactures, both cotton and silk, and some other things, such as tutenag, opium, indigo, etc. Her chief imports were horses, mules and articles of luxury for the royal family and nobility. It is clear that the value of her exports was much greater than that of the imports and the balance of trade was always in her favour. That was why it was generally believed that "Merchants of all countries never ceased to carry pure gold into India, and to bring back in exchange commodities of herbs and gums." We had, during this period, commercial relations with China, the Malay Islands and other countries in the Pacific Ocean which were connected with us by sea-routes. Our trade with Bhutan, Tibet, Afghanistan, Persia and other countries in Central Asia was carried on through land-routes.

But our wealth was unevenly distributed. In fact, it was concentrated in the hands of a small minority. The sultans and their nobility and the high official class were enormously wealthy and so also were the Hindu Rajas and chiefs and top-ranking Hindu merchants and bankers. The salaries of important civil and military officers in the Sultanate period were very high. The officials and nobles lived in big mansions, were attended by a large array of servants and rolled in wealth and luxury. The middle class, which consisted of the professional men and important clerks and merchants, was also fairly well-to-do. But the masses, who, of course, formed the bulk of the population, were poor and did not have enough to satisfy their needs. The government demands on the people's productive capacity and labours were exorbitant and the tiller of the soil was left with about one-third of his produce. The incidence of taxation fell heavily on him ; but it seems that in normal times he did not starve. His wants were few, in fact, fewer than he has in our day, and things of everyday use were much cheaper. But, when there was famine, whether due to failure of rains or some other natural calamity or due to destruction of crops owing to military expeditions, common people died in hundreds and, sometimes, in thousands Many famines occurred during the period. For example, one in the time of Jalal-ud-din Firoz Khalji when hundreds of people drowned themselves into the Yamuna, and another in the Doab in the time of Muhammad bin Tughluq, which, too, was very severe and caused a considerable loss of life.

Owing to primitive and difficult means of communications, prices were not uniform in the various parts of the country. It should not, of course, be expected that they could be uniform throughout the period. In normal times things were very cheap ; but, in times of famine and scarcity, prices of goods rose abnormally high. For example, during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq when a famine occurred grain was sold at sixteen to seventeen jitals a seer. Similarly, prices would go up during war. When Firoz Tughluq invaded Sindh for the second time, the price of grain there rose eight to ten jitals per seer. During Ala-ud-din's reign the prices of most of the articles of daily use were considered as normal. At that time wheat used to sell at seven and a half jitals per maund, barley four jitals, rice five jitals, pulses five jitals, white sugar one hundred jitals a maund, soft sugar sixty jitals a maund, oil-seeds three jitals a maund, mutton ten jitals a maund and ghee sixteen jitals a maund. The prices of various kinds of cloth were : muslin of Delhi cost seventeen tankas a piece, that of Aligarh six tankas and a fine blanket cost thirty-six jitals, while a coarse one six jitals. Prices were exceptionally low during the later years of the reign of Sikandar Lodi and throughout that of Ibrahim Lodi. During Ibrahim's time one could purchase ten maunds of grain, five seers of oil and ten yards of coarse cloth for one Bahloli, a coin introduced by

Bahlol Lodi and equivalent to one-sixth of a jital in value. Nowhere were the things of everyday use cheaper than in Bengal which the Turks considered as a "hell crammed with good things."

In short, the general prosperity of the country is testified to by contemporary sources, both Indian and foreign. Among the foreign travellers the names of Marco Polo, who visited Southern India between 1288 and 1293, Ibn Batuta, who travelled in most parts of our country between 1334 and 1342, and Mahuan, a Chinese, who visited Bengal in 1406, are of special interest, as all of them have left an account of the country which shows that both industrially and economically India was prosperous and that there was a "great abundance of all the necessaries of life."

An important factor in the economic system of the Mughul period was a wide gulf separating producers from consumers. The producers were agriculturists, industrial workers and the traders, and the consuming classes, the nobles and officers of the civil and military departments, professional and religious classes, servants, slaves and beggars. Another important feature was the superfluity of officers and domestic servants. It was a fashion for the rich people to be surrounded by a crowd of retainers and menial servants. There was a large number of religious mendicants and beggars, both Hindus and Muslims, who performed no useful function, and consequently a large portion of the State income was wasted, the cost of which had to be borne by the producing classes. The nobles and officers were paid very high salaries and they spent lavishly on articles of luxury and display. They were fond of sumptuous dishes, costly dresses, precious jewellery, elephants and horses. The well-to-do spent extravagant sums on marriages of their sons and daughters, on buildings, mausoleums, and mosques and on curious varieties purchased from foreign countries. The extravagant living landed many of them into debt and compelled them to extort money from the peasantry. The middle class people, consisting of professional classes and ordinary state employees, were fairly well off. The upper and middle class merchants were also economically prosperous. Skilled workmen earned sufficient to lead a decent life, but the condition of the unskilled workers, peons, and shop-keepers was not good. They were paid low wages, and had to put up with ill-treatment. The lower class people were poor and were denied even ordinary comfort of life They resided in mud houses, as now, toiled all day long, and had very few belongings.

The conditions of the peasantry, unskilled workers, menial servants and low shop-keepers progressively deteriorated from the time of Akbar to that of Aurangzeb, and became very bad indeed during the days of the later Mughul emperors. During the reign of Aurangzeb agriculture, industry and trade were badly affected by his incessant wars and the inefficiency of the administration. "Thus ensued," observes Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "the great economic impoverishment of India, not only a decrease of the 'national stock', but also a rapid lowering of mechanical skill and a standard of civilization, a disappearance of art and culture over wide tracts of the country." After that emperor's death, the economic system broke down almost completely consequent on the break up of the empire and the establishment of the provincial dynasties in several parts of the country. The weakness of the central government, the Maratha ravages, the foreign invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali, the piracy of the Portuguese and abuse of the trade privileges by the European traders and their agents caused economic distress to a vast majority of the people. Thus at the time when the country passed under the alien sway of the English East India Company it presented a low economic state of affairs with more than half the population leading a miserable life.

Prices

During the Mughul period things of daily use, such as, grain, vegetable, fruit, milk, ghee, oil, meat and fish and articles of clothing, were very cheap. During the reign of Akbar the normal rate of wheat was 12 maunds a rupee, that of barley 18 maunds, best rice 10 maunds, moong 18 maunds, mash 16 maunds. A sheep could be had for a rupee and a half. Meat sold 17 seers a rupee, and milk 44 seers. Daily wages of workers were also low. An unskilled labourer was paid 2 dams, i.e., one-twentieth of a rupee, a day, a carpenter got 7 dams and other skilled workmen too got 7 dams a day. The prices did not much differ during the reigns of Akbar's successors except in the time of war or a famine when for a temporary period things became very dear indeed. Otherwise, generally speaking, the prices of things throughout the Mughul period remained low. The effect of all round cheapness and low prices was that the common man got his means of subsistence without difficulty. The historian Smith is of opinion that "the hired landless labourer in the time of Akbar and Jahangir had probably more to eat than he has now." On the other hand, Moreland thinks that "speaking generally the masses lived on the same economic plane as now." The truth seems to be that although the income of the common man during the Mughul period was not high, he did not suffer from starvation. Nor did he feel the pinch for want of corn and other necessities of life, which were plentiful and cheap. Moreover, the common man had fewer needs and more of contentment than his successor of our time. He was more honest and led a more contented and purer life than his representative of the twentieth century.

Famines

As crops in our country depend upon rain-fall, the failure of seasonal rains is invariably followed by a famine. The North-Western India suffered from a severe famine in 1555-56, i.e., the first year of Akbar's reign. It was accompanied by a pestilence which took a heavy toll of human life. Another famine occurred in Gujarat in 1573-74, and still another in Kashmir in 1595-96. Bengal was visited by famine in 1575. Horrible famines occurred in the Dakhin and Gujarat in 1630-32. The outbreak of a number of famines was recorded during the reign of Aurangzeb, but these did not seem to have been severe. The Mughul emperors from Akbar downwards followed the policy of trying to relieve the distress of the people as much as they could. They sanctioned relief-work, disbursed large sums on it and remitted revenue in the affected areas. But in view of the magnitude of the problem and inefficiency of administration the famine problem could not be tackled successfully by the Mughuls. At any rate the Mughuls failed to formulate a comprehensive and long-term famine policy and take substantial preventive measures against the scourge.

Rajeshkumar Gambhava

5

Religious Policy

Religious policy of the sultans of Delhi

It has been shown in the first chapter that the ideal of an Islamic state is complete religious uniformity and that, according to the law of Islam, the Hindus are not entitled to any kind of religious toleration. Nevertheless in 712-713 A.D. practical considerations compelled Muhammad bin Qasim, the conqueror of Sindh and Multan, to accord the same treatment to the Hindus of these two provinces as the Christians and the Jews were shown in Arabia and other parts of the caliphate. This became a well-established precedent, and was followed by the sultans of Delhi throughout the Sultanate period (1206-1526). But as the Quran and the *hadis* did not really permit Muslim rulers to allow Hindus to live under a Muslim government but to give them the choice between 'Islam or death' the ulama pressed the sultans from time to time that the Quranic law should be enforced and that either the Hindus should be compelled to embrace Islam or they should be butchered in cold blood. Several instances of the orthodox ulama pressing this demand on the sultans are recorded in the pages of the contemporary chronicles. It is not possible [to quote them all on account of paucity of space, but one or two can be given here to show the attitude of the Muslim theologians and also why their demand could not be conceded by their rulers. During the reign of Iltutmish (1211-1236) the ulama made a united demand that the Hindus should be confronted with the Quranic injunction of 'Islam or death.' The sultan referred the question to his wazir Nizam-ul-Mulk Junnaidi, who, though concurring with the ulama's interpretation of the law, said, "But at the moment India has newly been conquered and the Muslims are so few that they are like salt (in a large dish). If the above orders are applied to the Hindus, it is possible that they might combine and a general confusion might ensue and the Muslims would be too few in number to suppress this general confusion. However, after a few years when in the capital and in the regions and the small towns, the Muslims are well established and the troops are larger, it will be possible to give Hindus, the choice of 'death or Islam'."[1]

During the reign of Ala-ud-din Khalji (1296-1316) Qazi Mughis-ud-din of Bayana made the same demand. He said, "God has himself commanded their (Hindus') complete degradation inasmuch as the Hindus are the deadliest foes of the Prophet. The Prophet has said that they should either embrace Islam or they should be slain or enslaved and their property should be confiscated to the State. No one except the great Dr. Abu Hanifa allows the imposition of the jiziya upon the Hindus, while other scholars are of the opinion that there is no other alternative but death, or Islam."[2] Such instances can be multiplied, but these are enough to show that if the Quranic law could not be enforced completely, it was because of the vast numerical superiority of the Hindus and their military and economic strength. Fanatics like Zia-ud-din Barani consequently continued to lament that in an Islamic state the fundamental Islamic laws were being ignored by the Muslim rulers.[3]

As the rigid Quranic injunction could not be applied, the sultans were compelled to allow the Hindus to live as *Zimmis*, i.e., the people living under contract as second-rate citizens. A special tax called the jiziya was imposed on them. The tax was fairly high and amounted to 48, 24 and 12 silver coins for the rich, the average and the poor Hindus respectively. Monks, beggars, blind men and children were exempt from it. Originally Brahmans were exempt, but Firoz Tughluq imposed this tax upon them also. Modern Muslim scholars have attempted to show that this was not a religious or a discriminatory tax, and was levied in lieu of military service. Whatever the truth, there is no doubt that it was imposed on non-Muslims only and that it was considered a badge of inferiority. It was ordained that the payers of this tax should personally pay to the collector and behave humbly and obsequiously at the time of payment. Moreover, the idea was that on account of sheer economic pressure and on account of discriminatory treatment, the bulk of the Hindus would one day be obliged to walk into the fold of Islam. This wish was, however, not fulfilled.

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[1] *Sanai-Muhammadi* (Rampur MS); *Medieval India Quarterly*, Aligarh, Vol. I, Part III, pp. 100-05 : Nizami, *Religion and Politics, etc.*, pp. 315-16.

[2] Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* (Bib. Ind.) pp. 209-11.

[3] Barani, *Fatwa-i-Jahandari*, Advice XI.

Besides the imposition of the jiziya the Hindus were not permitted to conduct an open worship and religious propaganda. Certain legal disabilities were also imposed on them. For example, their evidence in the court of law and in suits against Muslims was not considered worth anything ; in social matters they were not given the respect due to their rank or position in life. During the reign of such bigoted sultans as Ala-ud-din Khalji, Firoz Tughluq and Sikandar Lodi, they were not allowed to put on fine clothes, ride on horseback or even to possess good arms. Sometimes they were not permitted to chew betels or to wear the same kind of dress as Muslims. According to the laws of Islam Hindus were forbidden from building new temples and repairing the old ones. Not only during the course of war or a campaign, but also in peace time Hindu temples were razed to the ground and their images broken to pieces. Firoz Tughluq writes in his Fatuhat-i-Firoz Shahi how at a time of absolute peace he rode to the village of Maluh where Hindus had gathered to worship by the side of a tank and a fair was being held and he not only put down Hindu worship and destroyed idol temples but also ordered the worshippers to be put to death.[4] Modern Muslim scholars have attempted to draw a distinction between Muslim law and practice in regard to the Hindus in war time and in peace time, and have asserted that no temples or images wore broken by the Muslims of any category and no forced conversion took place in the time of peace. But these assertions are divorced from reality. We know also that the same monarch razed the Keshav Deva temple on the site of Lord Krishna's birth place at Mathura, to the ground at a time when there was no rebellion and no disturbance of peace. When the Hindus rebuilt it, it was again destroyed and this time by Sikandar Lodi. It may be noted here that Jahangir had permitted Bir Singh Deva Bundela of Orchha (who was his protege) to rebuild the Keshav Deva temple at a huge cost, but Aurangzeb destroyed it completely and built a mosque on its site which even now stands towering the entire area, although there was no trouble in Mathura at that time. Many such instances of vandalism committed in peace time can be cited. One has only to visit the Hindu places of pilgrimage in northern India to notice countless mounds which had once been sacred shrines but were destroyed by Musalmans. Our museums all over northern India are full of broken images and statues, not only at Mathura, Ayodhya and Varanasi but also at many other places. One notices mosques, mausoleums and tombs on the sites of what had once been ancient Hindu shrines which are built out of the materials of those very shrines. The pity of it is that a class of our writers not only pervert facts of history, but also justify wanton destruction of ancient shrines and works of art. Dr. Muhammad Nazim, for instance, says that there was no harm if the images were destroyed, for it taught the Hindus the unity of God and the truth that it is sinful to make an image of Him.[5] Another writer says that it was wrong of the Hindus to have erected lofty temples, installed gold and silver images therein and to have endowed them with wealth. It was natural for the Muhammadans to have been tempted by the

[4] *Elliot and Dowson*, Vol. III, pp. 380-81.
[5] Muhammad Nazim, *Mahmud of Ghazni*.

hoarded wealth of the Hindu temples.[6] A third writer says that the contemporary Muslim chroniclers have given an exaggerated account of Muslim bigotry and of the destruction of temples and images, for they wrote with an eye to the Central Asian audience, which was Muslim.[7] This shallow argument is being repeated times out of number by modern apologists of the Muslim rule during the Sultanate period. Their argument amounts to this : the medieval age was an age of propaganda and Muslim historians like Minhaj-ud-din Siraj, Hasan Nizami, Zia-ud-din Barani, Shams-i-Siraj Afif and others were propagandists; but the modern Muslim historians like Muhammad Nizam, I. H. Qureshi and others are quite innocent of propaganda, because the 20th century is not an age of propaganda. This kind of reasoning is so palpably false that no attempt need be made to refute it. Facts are always more eloquent than logic.

Although it would be historically wrong to maintain that the entire age from 1206 to 1526 was a period of absolute intolerance when temple destruction and image breaking were the rule or that all the sultans of that age utilized the resources of the state for religious propaganda and proselytisation, there is no doubt that some of the sultans like Firoz Tughluq and Sikandar Lodi made it the chief aim of their policy to convert the Hindus to Islam by holding out many inducements and exercising all kinds of pressure on them. Firoz Tughluq announced that whoever embraced Islam and repeated the *kalima* (Muslim confession of faith) would be exempt from the jiziya. He writes proudly that this proclamation had the desired effect and many Hindus came and were converted to Islam. Moreover as Muslims in general considered it their duty to propagate their religion, to persecute the Hindus and to convert them to Islam, some of them not only held out temptations but even used force in their *jihad* (holy war) against Hinduism. We have numerous examples of a fanatical mullah here and another there indulging in this kind of *jihad*. It will thus be clear that the Hindus during the Sultanate period did not enjoy religious freedom, liberty of conscience and of worhip.

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[6] Sufi, *History of Kashmir*.
[7] Sulaiman Nadvi.

The Sultanate enforced strictly the law against blasphemy, and no one was permitted to speak a word against the Prophet of Islam or say anything about the shortcomings of the Muslim religion. For those who were considered guilty of this offence, the punishment was death. For example, Sikandar Lodi put a Brahman to death, who had the courage to maintain that both Hinduism and Islam were true religions.[8] Islam did not permit the conversion of Muslims to Hinduism or the reconversion of Hindu converts to Islam. Those guilty of the offence of 'seducing' Muslims from their religion were awarded the capital punishment. The same punishment was inflicted for reconverting Hindu converts to Islam. During the entire period of nearly three hundred and fifty years the only Muslim ruler who showed exceptional toleration in this respect was Zain-ul-Abadin of Kashmir. Sometimes medieval Muslim rulers converted Hindus to Islam in large numbers. Sikandar, the Butshikan of Kashmir, converted thousands of Hindus to Islam and expelled those who refused to be converted.[9] Jalal-ud-din of Bengal (1414-1430) forcibly converted hundreds of Hindus and persecuted the rest.[10] Firoz Tughluq and Sikandar Lodi were the instances of Delhi sultans who indulged in mass persecution and conversion.

It is sometimes maintained that in spite of intolerance and persecutions the condition of the Hindus during the pre-Mughal period was better off than that of Roman Catholics under Protestant rulers and of Protestants under Roman Catholic rulers in the countries of Europe during the 16th and 17th centuries. But those who talk of this forget that there had been no such persecution throughout Indian history before the Arab and Turks came to this country. The Hindus had, therefore, no such experience before. Moreover, India is not Europe and the comparison is unwarranted.

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[8] *Firishta*, Vol. I, p. 281.

[9] *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, p. 397.

[10] *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, p. 116.

Religious policy of the Mughals

Babar and Humayun inherited the religious policy of the sultans of Delhi and, therefore, extended no toleration to Hinduism. Babar described his war against Rana Sanga as a holy war. He exempted Muslims from stamp duties, while continuing to charge it from the Hindus at the old rate.[11] His officers like Hindu Beg and Shaikh Zain demolished Hindu temples at Sambhal and Chanderi and Mir Baqi destroyed the Hindu temple commemorating Rama's birth place at Ayodhya and built a mosque on its site. Babar himself destroyed idols at Urva near Gwalior. Prof. Sri Ram Sharma writes that Humayun made a grant of 300 acres of land to the Jangamvadi Math of Banaras, but the inscription purporting to make the grant is on the very face of it fictitious. Probably it was forged by an interested Mahant in self-interest. Sher Shah too was guilty of destroying Hindu temples at Jodhpur. He was a zealous assertor of the supremacy of Islam. And his breach of promise to Puran Mal of Raisin was actuated by religious motives. His son Islam Shah "brought the State under complete subjection to the mullahs."

This was the state of affairs when Akbar came to the throne in 1556. It was customary in that age to persecute even Muslim heretics, to search them out and to kill them in cold blood. During the first few years of his reign the young Akbar too was under the influence of orthodox mullahs; but as soon as he became his own master, he reversed the policy of his predecessors. In 1562 he forbade the prisoners of war from being converted into slaves and forced to become Muslims. In 1563 he exempted the Hindus from paying the pilgrims' tax for visiting their holy places and in 1564 he abolished the hated jiziya. This was perhaps the greatest single act that brought to an end the policy of discrimination against the Hindus. Akbar created a common citizenship for all the residents of the empire, Hindus and Muslims alike. Very soon after this permission was accorded to the Hindus to build new temples and to repair the old ones.

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[11] *Memoirs of Babur*, II, p. 281.

Akbar's marriage with a Rajput princess of Amber had the effect of liberalising his policy, for the Hindu ladies were permitted to perform Hindu religious worship in the palace. The emperor's keen desire to understand the dogma of Islam led to the establishment of the House of Worship to which at first only Muslims of various schools of thought were invited to hold discussion on Muslim religion and law. But the quarrels of the Muslim divines convinced him that Islam was not free from imperfections, and, therefore, the House of Worship was thrown open to the followers of other faiths. Hindus, Parsees, Jains and Christians now took part in the debates and after listening attentively to them and coming into close contact with the teachers of various religions and carefully examining their tenets, Akbar felt that there was truth in all religions and that there were some pious men everywhere. Naturally, therefore, he began treating diverse religions as various paths leading to one and the same goal. So he adopted some of the Parsee, Hindu and Jain modes of worship and started the practice of observing Parsee, Hindu and Jain religious festivals at his court side by side with Muslim festivals. In deference to the feelings of the Hindus, he prohibited cow slaughter and gave up eating beef.

Next he opened the high state services, civil and military, to talent, and began filling key posts on merit, irrespective of race, caste and creed. The result was that the Hindus were not only welcome at the court and the camp, but were also appointed ministers, commanders and governors of provinces. Todar Mal was promoted to the office of prime minister and Man Singh to the mansab of 7,000, the highest rank open to the nobility. The government thus became broad-based and all discrimination against the Hindus ceased in practice.

Akbar went one step further and replaced the Islamic theory of sovereignty by one of divine origin of kings. This theory was secular in conception and made the king not only the impartial ruler of all his subjects but also their father.

The conversion of a theocracy, that had the sanction of religion and history and had been in force for nearly 375 years, into a secular state called for the highest qualities of statesmanship, courage and force of character to enforce it. Akbar now declared that those Hindus who had been compelled to become Musalmans were free to go back to their ancestral religion, and that, like the Muslims, the Hindus could convert non-Hindus to their religion, if they so liked.

This policy of religious tolerance lasted till the accession of Aurangzeb in 1658. It must, however, be mentioned that some modifications were made in practice, though not in theory, by Jahangir and Shahjahan. For example, Jahangir is said to have converted some non-Muslims to Islam and when it came to his notice that the Hindus of Rajauri converted and married Muslim girls of the locality, he ordered to stop this practice and to punish the guilty.[12] But like his father he too did not permit forcible conversion to Islam and allowed new temples to be erected and Christian churches to be built. He was also quite friendly to the Christians and allowed his brother Daniyal's sons to be converted to Christianity. But he was not so friendly towards the Sikhs and ordered Guru Arjun to be put to death. This was, however, due to political reasons, and not to religious intolerance. He expelled the Jains from the imperial territories. It is difficult to say whether this measure was due to religious or political motives. Any way Jahangir, generally speaking, continued his father's policy of religious toleration and made no distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims in public employment.

Shahjahan was an orthodox Muslim. He abolished some of the non-Islamic ceremonies and practices at the court. For example, he abolished the *Sijida* and *Zaminbos* forms of salutation, restored the Hijra Era to the national calendar, and revived some of the Muslim festivals like Shab-i-barāt and Id-i-milād, which had been given up by Akbar and Jahangir. He restored the authority of the chief sadr, and acted as the champion of Sunni Islam. He re-imposed the pilgrims' tax on the Hindus, but remitted it soon after when a representation was made by Kavindracharya of Banaras. Early in his reign he prohibited the building of new temples and repairing of the old ones. He often went to the extent of ordering the demolition of some Hindu temples. But these orders were revoked six or seven years after his accession. In one respect, however, he reversed the policy of his father and grandfather and that was stopping the privilege granted to the Hindus and Christians to make converts to their religion. In one more respect, Shahjahan showed intolerance and that was his fanatical behaviour towards the Christians. But it was probably due to political reasons.

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[12] *Tuzuk Jahangiri* (R.B.), Vol. I, pp. 83, 146, 322

With the accession of Aurangzeb began an era of change in the religious policy of the Mughal empire. He was an orthodox Sunni Musalman and pursued consistently the policy of setting aside the rules and regulations of the time of his father, grandfather and great-grandfather and of re-establishing the Islamic supremacy in the empire. But for the first ten years of his reign he showed some restraint on account of the presence of great Hindu chiefs like Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur and Mirza Raja Jai Singh of Amber, and only banished some of the non-Islamic practices from the court. He discontinued the solar Ilahi year started by Akbar and stopped the practice of the celebration of the Persian *Nauroz*. Next he banished music and dancing from the court and stopped the practice of appearing at the *jharokha darshan.* In the twelfth year he gave up performing the *tulā dān* and ordered the removal of the *kalima* from the coins so that it might not be defiled by the touch of the Hindus. He also discontinued the practice of applying *tika* on the forehead of the Hindu rajas and dismissed Hindu astrologers and astronomers and appointed Muslim astrologers in their places.

Even as a prince Aurangzeb had given proof of his religious orthodoxy, and, while governor of Gujarat, he had destroyed several temples in that province. But it was some ten years after his accession that he adopted a deliberate policy to put down Hinduism. First of all he announced that old temples were not to be demolished, but new ones must not be built. But this rule was to be applicable in peace time only. When a war or a campaign was in progress Aurangzeb considered it lawful to demolish temples and break images. Accordingly many newly erected temples were razed to the ground in several parts of the country. In 1669 a general order was issued for the destruction of *all* the schools and temples of the Hindus. It was also enjoined upon the government officers to put down educational activities and religious practices of the Hindus. The result was that such venerated temples as those of Vishwanath and Gopinath at Banaras and the famous temple of Keshava Deva at Mathura which had been built at a cost of 33 lakhs of rupees by Bir Singh Deva Bundela in Jahangir's time, were levelled to the ground and mosques were built on their sites. The priests of the Govardhan temple built by Vallabhacharya were seized with panic, and removed Shri Nath's image to Mewar where it was sheltered by Rana Raj Singh. The image of Krishna was carried away in safety from Vrindaban to Kakrauli in the Udaipur State. From all parts of the country news came of the destruction of temples and images and their broken fragments were brought to Delhi and Agra and buried under the staircases of the Jami mosques to be trampled under foot.

Aurengzeb was equally inimical to the religion of the Sikhs. He ordered the Sikh Guru Teg Bahadur to become Muslim and on his refusal he was captured and executed. His son and successor Guru Govind Singh was ordered to be arrested, but the latter managed to escape and remained in rebellion until Aurangzeb's death.

Aurangzeb reduced the number of Hindus in the state service, and he ordered that all Hindus must be dismissed from the revenue department. But this order could not be completely enforced. The emperor reimposed the pilgrims' tax upon the Hindus. He forbade the public celebrations of some of the Hindu festivals. Therefore, the festival of *Holi* could not be celebrated openly or publicly. The celebration of

Dipawali was also prohibited and an order was issued that the Hindus should not burn their dead bodies at the bank of the Yamuna at Delhi and that of the Sabarmati at Ahmedabad. The Fatawa-i-Alamgiri says that the Hindus should not be allowed to look like Muslims, and, therefore, in 1694 Aurangzeb issued an order prohibiting Hindus except Rajputs and Marathas to ride on Iraqi or Turani horses and on elephants or to use palanquins. In the same year Hindus were prohibited from carrying arms in public.

Economically too Aurangzeb tried to hit the Hindus hard. In April 1665, he laid down that the Hindus should pay the excise duty at double the rate of the Muslims. In 1667 Muslims were exempted altogether from the payment of excise duties, while it was retained at the old rates as far as the Hindus were concerned. But when in 1682 he imposed it on the Musalmans at 2½ per cent, the Hindus continued to be charged at the rate of 5 per cent as before. Similarly, in the matter of other taxes such as those on cattle the Hindus were required to pay at a rate double of the Muslims. It may be noted here that Aurangzeb had already reimposed the jiziya upon the Hindus. His motive was to compel them to embrace Islam and to convert India into an Islamic state.

The policy enunciated by Aurangzeb continued for many years after his death. His successor Bahadur Shah I (1707-1712) retained most of his father's harsh regulations and continued his policy of intolerance. But Bahadur Shah I's successors were weak and incompetent, and from the time of Muhammad Shah (1719-1748) they had to reckon with the Marathas. The jiziya was therefore abolished, and most of Aurangzeb's discriminatory regulations were allowed to lapse.

Rajeshkumar Gambhava

6

The Bhakti Movement

Origin of the movement

According to the ancient Hindu thought salvation or freedom from the bondage of birth and death, which is the ultimate end of human life, can be attained by three means (*marga*), viz., *gyan* (knowledge), *karma* (action), and *bhakti* (devotion). During the period of the Sultanate of Delhi (1206-1526) a series of Hindu saints and reformers set on foot a movement of religious reform which emphasised the last method, viz., devotion. and which became known as the bhakti movement. It will, thus, be seen that the movement was not altogether new, and that it did not owe its origin to Islam, as has been erroneously supposed by some modern writers. What really happened was that this movement received impetus from the presence of econoclastic Muslim preachers, who stressed the unity of God, vehemently criticised the Hindu religion and thought and attempted to convert Hindus to their religion by resorting to all kinds of means. Hinduism, therefore, tried to defend itself by purging off some of its evil practices, particularly those relating to rigours of caste and image worship.

The history of the movement goes back to the time of the great reformer, Shankaracharya, who successfully combated Buddhism and gave Hinduism a solid philosophical background. He established a logical monistic system and laid emphasis on the first of the three methods of attaining salvation, viz., knowledge. But Shankaracharya's system being highly philosophical and intellectual failed to evoke a hearty response from the common people. Anxious to attract the popular mind towards Hinduism and make it a living and active force in the life of the common people our religious thinkers of the medieval age laid stress on the third means, viz., bhakti (devotion) to a loving personal God. As a vast majority of the Hindus could not pursue careers of material, political and cultural advancement under the stiffling and intolerant alien rule of the medieval sultans, a dominant feature of the bhakti movement was 'escapism'. The people as well as leaders of the movement sought solace in other-worldliness.

Ramanuja

The earliest exponent of the bhakti movement was the great *Vaishnava* teacher, Ramanuja, who flourished in the early years of the 12th century A.D. He was born at Triputi in the modern Andhra State and was in his early days a follower of Shankar's philosophy. He travelled widely, visiting many parts of the country. His studies and meditation led him to differ from Shankar's absolute monism and illusion (*advaita* and *mayavad*). He laid stress on bhakti or devotion as the principal means of attaining the final bliss. His philosophy consisted in the belief that God, the Supreme Reality, was possessed of the unsurpassable greatness and was the creator, preserver and destroyer of the universe. He possessed unlimited powers to realise His wishes and purposes. Ramanuja believed that the best means of attaining salvation was through bhakti. He taught that even the Sudras and the outcaste could attain salvation by their complete surrender to the will of the guru. He permitted them to visit certain temples on a fixed day in the year and prescribed for them the cult of self-surrender (*prapatti*) and of complete submission to the guru. His ideas became popular both in the North and the South and laid the foundation of a vigorous popular movement for the uplift of the people.

Nimbarkara

The next leader of the bhakti movement was Nimbarkara, a younger contemporary of Ramanuja. He was a worshipper of Krishna and Radha and the propounder of the philosophical theory of *Bhedabheda* which means that though there is a difference between the individual soul (man) and the World Soul (God), yet there is really no difference. He meant that God, the soul and the inanimate world were similar and yet distinct. So he differed greatly not only from Shankaracharya but also from Ramanuja, who believed in the philosophy of *Vishistadvaita*. In actual practice he laid emphasis on surrender to God.

Madhavacharya

Another equally important leader of the movement was Madhava, who flourished in the 13th century. He was a staunch opponent of Shankaracharya's theory of unqualified monism and of Ramanuja's philosophy of *Vishistadvaita*. He believed in the theory of distinct dualism which he derived freely from the philosophy of the *Bhagwat Purana*. Thus by the end of the 13th century three distinct philosophical thoughts, all of which aimed at one and the same object, viz., the devotion to one personal God as the means of deliverance from the bondage of birth and death, came to sway the thoughts of the advance school of intellectuals among the Hindus both in northern and southern India. All these three schools of thought were offshoots of Vaishnavism.

Ramananda

It should be noted that all the principal Vaishnava teachers had so far come from South India. But in the 14th century a prominent acharya was born at Prayag (modern Allahabad) of Kanyakubja parents. He was the famous Ramananda and fifth in apostolic succession to Ramanuja. He had his schooling at Prayag and Banaras and had travelled in several parts of India. At an early age he joined Ramanuja's philosophical school and rose to be a teacher in his own right. He believed in *Vishistadvaita* philosophy of Ramanuja, but carried the master's teachings much further. Although he did not believe in the equality of the four varnas and the numerous castes, yet he made a departure from the past and permitted the Sudras to become his disciples and to participate in religious functions on almost equal terms with the higher castes. Likewise he rejected the medieval stigma that barred the fair sex from pursuing the career of religious thought and practice. He had twelve disciples and these included, besides members of the higher castes, a Jat named Dhana, a barber named Sena, a cobbler named Rai Das, and a Musalman named Kabir. Two of his disciples were women, viz., Padmavati and Sursari. Thus Ramananda opened the door of Vaishnavism to all without any distinction of birth, caste or creed or sex. He was a worshipper of Rama and believed in two great principles, viz., (1) perfect love for God, and (2) human brotherhood. He said that all people are His servants and, therefore, brothers.

Ramananda was the first Vaishnava teacher to preach through the medium of Hindi. His predecessors in the field had made use of Sanskrit and, therefore, their messages were addressed to the select few who could understand Sanskrit. But as Ramananda adopted Hindi as the medium of his discourses, his message reached the common people. The result was twofold : for the first time the general public had direct access to the acharya's teachings and there was besides an unexpected expansion and growth of Hindi literature in the country. These two things led to an emancipation of the national intellect from the thraldom of scholastic learning. As everyone could easily comprehend the Vaishnava teachings, there was a considerable awakening among the Sudras. Moreover, as Ramananda assured an equality of treatment to his disciples in the religious congregations, his teachings raised the status of women and gave a sanctity to the family-life. Ramananda laid stress on love and devotion, and did not emphasise rituals, religious ceremonies, fast and pilgrimage. Another contribution of this acharya was the democratising of the movement which came naturally in the wake of his popularity. But although the movement became popular and rose much above caste exclusiveness, yet Ramananda made no great break from the past and made no attempt to establish complete social equality. In fact he did not preach against caste and retained the caste system as a scheme of social organisation. But under his teaching caste rigours were greatly softened and the Sudras rubbed shoulders with the Brahmans, and were considered equal in the sight of God. This was indeed a great achievement.

Kabir (1440-1510)

The next notable teacher of the bhakti cult was Kabir, who is said to have been the son of a Hindu widow. In order to hide her shame, she had left the baby by the side of a tank in Banaras. He was picked up by a Muslim weaver named Niru, who brought him up as his son. Like his parentage, the date of Kabir's birth also is a subject of controversy. But it is generally believed by scholars that he was born in or about 1440 A.D. Kabir was a meditative child, and when he grew up he became a disciple of Ramananda. He married and followed the occupation of his adoptive father. Nevertheless, he became one of the greatest saints and reformers of his time. His teachings were directed to the attainment of two main objects—inward spirituality to the exclusion of outward ritualism and the conciliation between Hinduism and Islam. He believed in one formless God, rejected both the Vedas and the Quran and the supremacy of the Brahmans and the mullas, preached against the meaningless formalities and rituals of Hinduism, and the equally meaningless rites and practices of Islam. He was an uncompromising opponent of caste and of

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image-worship. He was equally vehement against the Muslim form of prayer, the fasts of Ramzan, and the reverencing of tombs and graves. He emphasised the unity of God, and the path of love, devotion and bhakti. He believed that love of God and love of humanity were the fundamental basis of religion, and therefore, there was no religion without bhakti. Like his Guru Ramananda he preached in Hindi. His poems, particularly *dohas* in that language, which look like parables and contain a trenchent criticism of the prevailing beliefs and practices of the age, had a great appeal for the common people. He said that Rama and Rahim, Krishna and Karim, Macca and Kashi were the expressions of the same Absolute force. The following peom admirably sums up Kabir's sayings :

> If God be within the mosque, then to whom does this world belong ?
> If Rama be within the image, then who is there to know what happens without ?
> Hari is in the east, Allah is in the west. Look within your own heart, for there you will find both Karim and Rama.
> All the men and women of the world are His living forms.
> Kabir is the child of Allah and Rama. He is my Guru, He is my pir.
> Vain, too, are the distinctions of caste.
> All shades of colour are but broken arcs of Light.
> All varieties in human nature are but fragments of humanity.
> The right to approach God is not the monopoly of Brahmans, but belongs to all who are sincere of heart.

Kabir was an unlettered man and yet an author of a large number of poems. These embody his teachings and have been collected and published. The collection known as the Khas Grantha, made by some of his principal disciples, is preserved at Kabir Chaura in Banaras. The most important of his works are the Bijak, Sabads, Sakhis, Mangal, Basant, Holi, Rekhtal, etc. The Bijak was compiled in book-form by a disciple named

Bhago Das. Kabir's poems are in many metres, but most of them are *dohas* of the old Hindi style.

Kabir was a *bhakta* of the first order, but not a philosopher properly so called. It is, therefore, futile to analyse his poems to discover the school of philosophical thought to which he belonged. In fact we find in Kabir a diversity of thought—*Vishistadvaita* and *Bhedabheda*. One thing, however, stands supreme in Kabir's belief, and that was his unalloyed monotheism—belief in one *Nirguna* God. He did not like to give the Supreme Being a name, but if a name had to be given he called Him Rama. He stressed the necessity of a guru or a spiritual guide, but did not believe in incarnation or *avatar*.

Kabir's teachings had a profound effect on the masses. His brand of the bhakti-cult did not die with him, and an organisation of his disciples called Kabir-Panthis was established and it continued the tradition of the founder. It is, however, too much to say that Kabir succeeded in the attainment of the twin object he had at heart—making the Hindus to discard the caste system and ritualism and effecting a compromise between Hinduism and Islam. His teachings hardly, if at all, produced an impression on the Muslim masses and classes of medieval India. A small minority of the Hindus no doubt appreciated Kabir's stand and accepted his mission. The lower order among them particularly welcomed Kabir's teachings and many of them accepted him as a teacher. Some of Kabir's sayings found a ready welcome and were incorporated in the spiritual ideals of Nanak and of the twentieth century Hindu religious reformers.

There is a controversy whether Kabir was a Hindu or a Muslim religious teacher. Because he believed in the Unity of God, a school of modern Muslim writers are of the opinion that he must be considered a Muslim saint. This view does not, however, seem to be factually correct. Kabir had no faith in the Quran and did not believe that Muhammad was the last and the greatest prophet—beliefs which cannot be ascribed to any Musalman, however liberal. Even Muslim sufis do not reject the authority of the Quran and the mission of Muhammad. The fact that he stood for a compromise between Hinduism and Islam also shows that he was primarily a Hindu thinker and teacher. No Muslim in that age or even in the modern age honestly believed that Hinduism and Islam were the same in essence and that if the externals of the two religions were removed there would hardly be any difference between them. Moreover Kabir's teachings had little or no effect on the contemporary Muslim thought and practice. There are a handful of Musalmans who follow Kabir's teachings, but they call themselves Kabir's descendants and hence their adherence to his sect. They do not intermarry with other Muslims, not even with other weavers. It is said that both the Hindus and the Muslims claimed Kabir's dead body, the former desiring to cremate it and the latter to bury it. There was nothing unusual in the Muslim demand, for it was in conformity to Muslim usage ; but that the Hindus to whom the touch of a Muslim dead body was defilement should have asked for it shows that they thought that Kabir was not a Muslim but a Hindu saint.

Nanak (1469-1538)

Nanak, another notable saint of the bhakti cult, had almost identical views with those of Kabir. He was born in 1469 in the village of Talwandi, modern Nanakana, 35 miles south-west of Lahore in the Sheikhupura district of West Panjab. His parents belonged to the Khattri caste, and his father Kalu was the *patwari* (accountant) of the village. Nanak was educated in the village school. But he was a child of contemplative nature, and kept on brooding over great problems of life and death. His father, therefore, had him married with a girl of his caste and sent him to serve under the latter's brother-in-law Jai Ram, a grain merchant in the service of Daulat Khan Lodi, at Sultanpur-Lodi. But Nanak's accounts fell into disorder, and he left the post, and began associating himself with religious mendicants. He set himself up as a religious preacher, and the first saying of his to attract attention was : "There is no Hindu and no Musalman." Nanak did not give up the life of a householder ; he had his wife and two sons, and yet he continued to give his entire time to religious meditation, teaching and reform. He believed, like Kabir, that married life and secular business were no obstacles to spiritual progress and final emancipation.

Unlike Kabir, Nanak was a well-educated man. He had studied Persian and Hindi, besides his mother tongue Panjabi. He travelled all over India and also in some of the countries of Central Asia including Arabia, and came into contact with men of diverse professions, pursuits and creeds. He wrote inspiring poems and songs which were collected in a book-form and subsequently published as the Adi-Grantha. He was recognised as a guru, and died at Kartarpur in 1538 A.D. Before his death he nominated one of his most sincere disciples, named Angad, as his successor and passed over his sons, whom he did not consider fit for the office of guru.

Nanak's mission was to reform the Hindu religion on the basis of unity of Godhead and to bring about friendly relations between the Hindus and the Musalmans. It is a noteworthy fact that Nanak had no intention of founding a new religion and during his life-time Sikhism was not a separate creed, but was an offshoot or branch of Hinduism. In fact it was not called Sikhism during Nanak's life-time. The word Sikh is the corrupt form of *Shisya*, a Sanskrit word, which means disciple. Nanak's disciples were called Sikhs in the popular jargon of the Panjabi language of the 16th century. It was during the time of his successors that Sikhism became a distinct religion ; Nanak then became recognised as a prophet and Adi-Grantha became the Sikh bible.

Like Kabir, Nanak did not believe in the Vedas and the Quran, and was against the caste system, the supremacy of the Brahmans, and the *mullas*, ritualism, formalities of religion, fasts and pilgrimages. He was absolutely against image worship. He enrolled Muslims as well as Hindus of all castes including untouchables as his disciples. He believed in one formless God, who is omnipresent, omnipotent, without equal, incomprehensible, inaccessible and altogether distinct from His creation. Men can save themselves, he said, by surrendering themselves completely to the Almighty, by repeating His name, by practising humility and renouncing all kind of sham. Nanak believed in the doctrine of Karma and the theory of the transmigration of the soul. He also believed that salvation which is the ultimate end of human life means that the soul ceases to have its individual existence. In his teachings morality, humility, honesty, charity, truth and mercy had a prominent place. Alms-giving, repeating the name of Hari (God) and absolute obedience to the guru in body and mind, were the main duties of the Sikhs. Loving devotion to God was an indispensable necessity for them.

Nanak's teachings crystallised into a distinct sect which gradually developed into a religion. For more than 150 years this religion enjoyed the allegiance of a large number of Hindus, who believed in Nanak's mission, frequented the Sikh temples (*gurudwaras*) and participated in the religious service. There were some Musalman members of the organisation. In the time of Nanak's successors Sikhism gradually departed from the parent body of Hinduism proper, and in course of time became different from it. Guru Ram Das, the fourth in the line of apostolic succession, built the famous tank and the Golden Temple at Amritsar and his successor Guru Arjun collected the verses of Nanak and other gurus and compiled the Adi-Grantha. Thus Sikhism came to possess its headquarters and sacred centre of pilgrimage, and its religious scripture. On account of the Mughal policy of persecution the Sikh gurus began to transform their religious brotherhood into a military ogranisation. When Aurangzeb had foolishly put Guru Teg Bahadur to death in 1675, the Sikhs vowed vengeance against the Mughals, and Guru Govind Singh transformed Sikhism into a military-cum-religious community by laying the foundation of an inner order called the Khalsa, within the sect.

Mira Bai (1498-1546)

Mira Bai was one of the greatest saints of the 16th-century India. She was the only child of Ratna Singh Rathor of Merta and a great-grand-daughter of Rao Jodhaji, the founder of Jodhpur. Jaimal, the famous hero and defender of Chittor against Akbar's invasion of 1567-1568, was her cousin. She was born at the village of Kudki in the Merta district in or about 1498 A.D. and was married to Rana Sanga's eldest son and heir-apparent Bhojrāj in 1516. Prince Bhojrāj died sometime between 1518-1523 in the life-time of his father, leaving Mira Bai a widow in the prime of her life. She was highly religious from her childhood, and like her father and grandfather, was a follower of the Krishna cult of Vaishnavism. After her husband's death she devoted herself entirely to religious pursuits. Other bereavements followed almost in quick succession and drew Mira's heart away from all worldly attachments. Her father Ratna Singh fell in the battle of Khanwa in March 1527, fighting on the side of Rana Sanga, and the latter too died a broken-man early in 1528. Sanga's second son, whose name was Ratna Singh and who succeeded him, passed away within three years of his accession, and the throne of Mewar now passed to the latter's younger brother Vikramaditya in 1531. Mira, who was deeply religious, was thrown completely to a life of devotion and ecstatic mysticism. Her fame as a sincere devotee of Krishna and a patron of men of religion spread far and wide and drew hermits of both the sexes from distant places to Chittor. Rana Vikramaditya disliked that a princess of the royal Sisodia family should mix freely with any class of people, however saintly, and remonstrated against the practice. When his advice went unheeded, he tried, it is said, to get rid of her by poison. But fortunately no harm came to Mira. Owing to the strained relations with the ruler of Mewar, she went to reside with her uncle Biram Deva who was the chief of Merta. And there too she continued her daily routine. She remained engrossed in spiritual meditation and in religious music and dance. She also continued having *Kirtana* in the company of other religious men and women. Thus she spent some years at Merta ; but when that city was invaded and captured by Māl Deva of Jodhpur, she decided to undertake a pilgrimage to Dwarka. There she lived the life of a devotee and died in 1546 A.D. (Ojha, *Rajputana ka Itihas*, pp. 670-72)

Mira is said to have written numerous poems, all of them being devotional songs. But with the exception of Narsiji-ro Maharo and a few others no principal work of Mira has come down to us. Her lyrics, however, are her chief title to fame. They are written in Brijbhasha and partly in Rajasthani, and some of her verses are in Gujarati. These lyrics are saturated with super-abundant feeling of love and devotion and are so melodious that they instantaneously arouse the tenderest human feelings of pangs, love and devotion. Mira addressed her lyrics to Krishna whose presence she felt in every act of her daily life. The lyrics are full of passion and spiritual ecstasy. According to Mahadevi Verma, Mira's lyrics constitute the gems of the devotional literature of the world. The poet Nirālā looked upon Mira as the goddess of the *gīta (hymn) style* of poetry and to Sumitra Nandan Pant she was the Shakuntala of the hermitage-like forest of love and devotion and the Mandākinī of the desert-land of Rajasthan.

The following peoms of Mira show the depth of her devotional feelings and her love for union with Lord Krishna (the Almighty) :

मेरे तो गिरधर गोपाल, दूसरो न कोई ।
जाके सिर मोर-मुकुट, मेरो पति सोई ।
छाँड़ि दई कुल की कानि, कहा करिहैं कोई ।
संतन ढिग बैठि-बैठि, लोक लाज खोई ।
अँसुवन जल सींचि-सींचि, प्रेम बेलि बोई ।
अब तो बेलि फैलि गई, जानै सब कोई ।
भगत देखि राजी हुई, जगत देखि रोई ।
दासि मीरा लाल गिरधर ! तारो अब मोई ॥

(२)

कोई कहियो रे मोहन आवन की ।
आवन की मन भावन की ।
ए दोउ नैन कह्यो नहिं मानें, नदियाँ बहैं जैसे सावन की ।
आप न आवै, लिख नहिं भेजै, बान पड़ी ललचावन की ।
कहा करूँ कछु बस नहि मेरो, पाँख नहीं उड़ जावन की ।
मीराँ के प्रभु कब रे मिलोगे, चेरी भई तेरे दावन की ॥

Vallabhacharya (1479-1531)

Vallabhacharya was the next great saint of the Krishna cult of Vaishnavism. He was born at Banaras in 1479 A.D. His father Lakshman Bhatt from Tilangana was on a pilgrimage along with his family to the holy Kashi, where his second son Vallabhacharya saw the light of the day. He was a very intelligent and promising child, and it is said that his birth was followed by some miraculous happenings. He is said to have mastered the four Vedas, the six Shastras and the eighteen Puranas while he was yet a child. His father died when he was 11 and his mother followed her husband the very next year. Vallabhacharya was destined to a life of scholarship and religious meditation and reform, and he travelled over practically the whole of India more than once. After completing his education he proceeded to his home state and won the patronage of the celebrated Krishna Deva Raya of Vijayanagar, where he established the supremacy of Vaishnavism in a religious disputation with some learned scholars of the Shaiva sect. On his return to northern India he took up his residence in Vrindaban where he started preaching the Krishna cult (1520). He worshipped Lord Krishna under the title of Shrinathji. Like Kabir and Nanak he did not consider married life a hinderance to spiritual progress, and married at Banaras a Brahman girl named Maha Lakshmi. He had a number of sons and lived the life of a householder, but did not abandon his intellectual and spiritual pursuits.

Vallabhacharya was the author of a number of scholarly works in Sanskrit and Brajbhasha, the most well known of which are Subodhini and Siddhant Rahasya. He divided the later years of his life between Vrindaban and Kashi and died at the latter place in 1531 at the age of 52. He had many followers among whom 84 were considered as his devoted disciples.

Vallabhacharya's philosophy centred round the conception of one personal and loving God. He believed in the *marga* (path) of *pushti* (grace) and *bhakti* (devotion). He looked upon Shri Krishna as the highest Brahma, Purushottama (the most excellent of all beings) and Parmanand (the highest joy). It is possible to attain the Supreme Being by sincere bhakti or devotional faith which is saturated with so intense a love and passion for Him that it makes one forget oneself. One must, therefore, transport oneself to a mental and spiritual condition in which one could feel and see the eternal sport of Lord Krishna with gopas and gopis, with cows, beasts, birds, trees, rivers and other objects of Vrindaban and other parts of Braj. Vallabhacharya's teachings had an emotional appeal and they elevated the art and poetry of Braj, Rajasthan and Gujarat. In fact they brought about not only a religious ferment but also a great revival of music, poetry, dance and painting.

Vallabhacharya's second son named Vitthaleshwar or Vitthal Nath (1516-1576) acquired great reputation as a teacher of the Krishna cult of the Vaishnava sect. Akbar made to him a free grant of the town of Gokul near Mathura for the maintenance of the shrine of Shrinathji. He was granted full protection and freedom from molestation so that he might worship God in his own way. The emperor was so much impressed with his learning and saintliness that he permitted his cows to graze in the khalisa and jagir lands without let or hinderance. He was also given a free grant of the village of Jatipura, and in 1588 the cows attached to the temple of Goverdhan were conferred the right of free grazing in the villages of the neighbourhood. (Author's *Akbar the Great*, Vol. I). The head of the Vallabhacharya sect continued to enjoy these rights until the time of Aurangzeb. On account of the persecution by Aurangzeb, the *Mahant* took away secretly the image of Shrinathji to Nathadwara in the State of Udaipur where he was given protection by Rana Raj Singh. Since that time Nathadwara became the chief centre of the Vallabhacharya school of Vaishnavism. The followers of this school spread far and wide, especially in Rajasthan, Malwa, Gujarat, Kachh and Kathiawar. The head of the sect became very rich and began to be addressed as 'Maharaj'.

Vallabhacharya's Vaishnavism degenerated during the time of his later successors. His emphasis on the sports of Krishna, Radha and other gopis led to idolatrous worship, and his absolute insistence on the complete submission of his followers to the guru in body and mind resulted in evil practices of the sensuous variety. Consequently in the 18th and 19th centuries the Vaishnavism of the Vallabh School became 'the Epicureanism of the East'.

Chaitanya (1486-1533)

Perhaps the greatest saint, if not the greatest leader, of the bhakti movement was Chaitanya. There had been Vaishnavism in Bengal long before his birth. The lyrical poems of Jayadeva enshrined in his celebrated Gita Govinda and those of Chandi Das furnish evidence of undoubted existence of the Vaishnava philosophy and bhakti cult in the eastern provinces of India. But the activities of Chaitanya brought a great impetus to Vaishnavism, and made it popular all over Bengal and Orissa. Chaitanya's original name was Vishwambhar, and he was born in Navadwipa (modern Nadia) in February, 1486. His father Jagannath Mishra was a religious and scholarly man and his mother Sachi too was deeply religious and pious. They were very fond of their child whom they affectionately called Gaura on account of his beauty and fair complexion. Vishwambhar was sent to a private school to learn and afterwards entrusted to a wellknown Pandit Gang Das for higher studies. He was an exceptionally brilliant student and is said to have mastered Sanskrit language and literature, grammar and logic, at the early age of fifteen. On account of his father's death, which occurred while he was yet a student, Vishwambhar started a Sanskrit school at the age of 18 to earn his living and married a girl named Lakshmi. As his wife died of snake-bite, he married again and this lady survived her husband's *sannyas* and death. He was not yet 22, when he received *diksha* (initiation) from a saintly man, named Ishwar Puri, whom he met at Gaya during a pilgrimage. He was so much inspired by his guru that he became a changed man, and a sincere devotee of Krishna, whose name he shouted loudly in season and out of season. Sometimes he became unconscious and went into mystic trances. People thought that he had gone mad, but they soon realised that Vishwambhar's extraordinary behaviour was due to his devotion to Lord Krishna. In 1510 he became *sannyasi* and assumed the name of Krishna Chaitanya ; but he was popularly called Chaitanya. Sometime after he went to Puri where many disciples gathered round him. From Puri he undertook a pilgrimage to the southern and the western parts of the country, visiting many sacred places such as Pandharpur, Soma Nath, Dwarka, etc. After two more years' stay at Puri he went on another pilgrimage of Vrindaban, Mathura, and other places. He spent the rest of his life at Puri and died there in 1533.

Chaitanya preached the religion of intense faith in one Supreme Being whom he called Krishna or Hari. This religion was free from ritualism, and its worship consisted in love and devotion, song and dance, so intense and full of emotion that the devotee felt God's presence in a state of ecstasy. The essence of Chaitanya's teachings have been summed up thus : "If a creature adores Krishna and serves his guru, he is released from the meshes of illusion and attains to Krishna's feet......" This leads the devotee to rise above the fetters of this world. "He (Chaitanya) believed that through love and devotion, song and dance, a state of ecstasy could be produced in which the personal presence of God would be realised." He laid great stress on the inner and esoteric way of realisation which, he said, could be attained with the assistance of the guru. Chaitanya was opposed to the domination of the priests and to outward forms and ceremonies of religion. He preached to all irrespective of caste and creed. His influence was so profound and lasting that he is considered by his followers as an incarnation of Krishna or Vishnu. Although Chaitanya had many followers, yet he did not seem to have directly organised them into a sect or cult. It were his followers and devoted disciples who, after the master's death, systematised his teachings and organised themselves into a sect. Chaitanya's spiritual experience became from the very beginning the most powerful asset to the sect, and this together with his teachings and forceful personality, became a source of inspiration to this school of thought. The movement assumed a tangible form after Chaitanya's death and developed into some kind of a church. His six principal followers called the six Goswamis of Vrindaban are supposed to have elaborated and defined the doctrine, the creed and practices of what may be described as Chaitanyaism. The Vrindaban Goswamis looked upon Chaitanya as the *master* who was the source of inspiration and guide to the bhakti of Krishna, but Chaitanya's disciples at Nawadwip or Nadia began gradually to look upon Chaitanya as Krishna himself, or to be more exact as Radha and Krishna combined in one personality. This school considered him as the symbol of Krishna and the result was that Chaitanya himself began to be worshipped as *Gaurang Maha Prabhu.*

It is held by one school of thought that Chaitanya was not against caste system as far as eating and other social matters were concerned. But in religious matters he emphasised the equality of all castes. Chaitanya was not a social reformer and though he was for the equality of all in the sight of God, he did not preach against social usages and practices. Chaitanya's teachings and philosophy became very popular not only in Bengal and Orissa, but also in other parts of the country. He preached the gospel which went straight to the heart of the people. His message of love for a personal God acted as a balm for the suffering humanity. It proved that the human heart could rise above political and social sufferings. "It imparted freshness to life, creative power to literature and richness to human relations."

Nama Deva

The bhakti movement was not confined to northern India.

It was equally popular in the south. It has been shown that most of the early *acharyas* of the movement came from southern India. The most important medieval saint of Maharashtra was Nama Deva, who preached the sublime gospel of love and devotion and liberated the people's mind from the shackles of ritualism and caste. Naturally, therefore, his followers belonged to all castes and classes, including a few Muslim converts to Hinduism. Nama Deva belonged to the caste of tailors and flourished in the first half of the 15th century, and like other reformers of the age, he had faith in the unity of God and was against image worship and priestly domination. He believed that one could attain salvation only through love of God.

Tuka Ram

Nama Deva was followed by Tuka Ram, who was a contemporary of Shivaji. It is said that Tuka Ram's teachings were responsible for creating a background for Maratha nationalism. He was born at Dehy near Poona in or about 1608 A.D., and becoming disgusted with worldly affairs, he took up the life of a religious devotee and reformer. His conception of God resembled that of Kabir. God, according to him, had neither name, nor form, nor even a place of abode. He is omnipresent and omnipotent. Like all other teachers of the age Tuka Ram did not believe in religious formalities and rituals and was against caste system and other unjust social distinctions. He had many followers in Maharashtra and other parts of India. The great Maratha ruler Shivaji was one of his devout disciples.

Sur Das

No account of the bhakti movement can be complete without a brief description of two great Hindi poets, Sur Das and Tulsi Das, who were bhaktas par excellence and flourished in the latter half of the 16th and the first quarter of the 17th century. Both were saints of a high order, but no preachers and reformers in the formal sense, and neither of them founded a sect or a church. Both were, however, authors of several first-class works in Hindi, which are the highest expositions of the religion of love and devotion to a personal God and a source of inspiration to millions of men and women all over northern India for more than 300 and odd years. Little is known about the principal events of Sur Das's life, not even the dates of his birth and death. But scholars believe that this Sur Das was not the one connected with Akbar's court and that he was born sometime in the last quarter of the 15th century and died towards the end of it. Three of his works are very popular : they are Sur Sarawali, Sahitya Ratna and Sur Sagar. It is said that Sur Sagar contains 1,25,000 verses. But it seems probable that the tradition of 1,00,000 verses is correct. Though he borrowed his main theme from the Bhagwat Puran, yet his work is not in any sense a paraphrase in Hindi verse of that Puran. It is an original work through and through. The Sur Sagar is not only saturated with love and devotion, but is also notable for depicting Krishna as a child. The author has displayed a mastery of the knowledge of child psychology as also of one of a sincere devotee of the Almighty. He made use of Brajbhasha, and the message that runs through his works is that life itself is poetry. It is a sport, and adventure, but not a struggle, nor a story of disappointment. Sur's works and his stray poems have produced a tremendous effect on humanity and guided it to the path of bhakti.

Tulsi Das

Tulsi Das is considered by modern scholars as greater than Sur, both as a poet and a devotee. He was born in a Saryuparin Brahman family in or about 1532. Tradition says that his father's name was Atma Ram Dubey and his mother was Hulsi, and that on account of his wife Ratnavali's taunt, he took to the life of a religious hermit. It is believed that he began writing his *magnum opus*, the Rām Charit Mānas, popularly called the Ramayana, in 1574 when he was 42 years of age, and completed it in two years and seven months. Besides this principal work, he wrote several others, such as, Gitawali, Kavitawali, Vinaya Patrika, etc. Besides being a work of great literary merit the Rām Charit Mānas is an exposition of religious devotion of the highest category. Tulsi Das was the worshipper of Ram and he has drawn an ideal picture of his favourite deity. He looked upon Ram as an incarnation of God and believed that man could reach Him only through bhakti or affection. Modern scholars like Sir George Grierson and V. A. Smith have bestowed lavish praise on the Ramayana as a piece of art and as a work that has moulded religious thoughts and character of millions of Hindus all over northern India. They have described it as the Bible of the Hindus. Thus by his work and by the example of his own life, Tulsi Das played a great role in the growth and evolution of the bhakti movement.

Tulsi Das died at the ripe old age of 91, in 1623 A.D. He did not lay the foundation of a separate sect. Nevertheless he is considered even now as a great Vaishnava bhakta and an acharya who lives in the heart of millions of men and women, through his immortal Vinaya Patrika and Rām Charit Mānas.

It will thus be seen that the bhakti cult was a widespread movement that embraced the whole of the sub-continent of India for several centuries. It was a movement of the people and aroused intense interest among them. Perhaps, after the decline of Buddhism there had never been a more widespread and popular movement in our country than the bhakti movement. As has been shown above, it was an indigenous movement and had nothing to do with Christianity as some early writers had erroneously supposed. Although its basic principles of love and devotion to a personal God were purely Hindu and the principle of unity of Godhead on which its teachings rested was also mainly Hindu, yet the movement was profoundly influenced by Islamic belief and practices. Muslim thinkers, writers, and theologians were very critical of the then Hinduism, its social organisation and ceremonies. It was, therefore, natural for the medieval leaders of the Hindu society, particularly religious thinkers and reformers, to take a note of the conditions, circumstances and demands of the age. The bhakti movement had, as we have seen, two main objects in view. One was to reform the Hindu religion so as to enable it to withstand the onslaught of Islamic propaganda and proselytism. Its second object was to bring about a compromise between Hinduism and Islam and to foster friendly relations between the two communities. It succeeded in realising to a great extent the first object of bringing about the simplification of worship and liberalising the traditional caste rules. The high and the low among the Hindu public forgot many of their prejudices and believed in the message of the reformers of the bhakti cult that all people were equal in the eyes of God and that birth was no bar to religious salvation. The movement failed in attaining its second object, viz., Hindu-Muslim unity. Neither the Turko-Afghan rulers nor the Muslim public accepted the Rama-Sita or Radha-Krishna cult. They refused to believe that Rama and Rahim, Ishwar and Allah were the names of the same God. The movement, however, incidentally became responsible for another solid achievement, viz., the evolution and enrichment of our vernacular literatures. Most of the reformers preached to the masses through their mother tongue, and therefore, they enriched our modern languages, such as, Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Maithili, Gujarati, etc. The period of bhakti movement consequently proved to be a golden age in the history of the growth of our vernacular literature.

A school of modern writers holds that the existence and development of the bhakti movement was made possible by the policy of tolerance or at least of indifference followed by the sultans of Delhi. This view is historically incorrect. The bhakti cult, as a mass movement, started towards the end of the 14th and in the beginning of the 15th century when the Sultanate of Delhi was tottering to its grave. There is no evidence of the presence of any such movement among the Hindus as an open public movement during the time of Firoz Tughluq, much less during that of his predecessors. The weak successors of Firoz were not in a position to interfere with this popular movement. Moreover, as has been shown in a previous chapter, it was beyond the strength of even such mighty Muslim sultans as Iltutmish, Balban and Ala-ud-din Khalji to have made use of naked force on a large scale in putting down Hinduism. The evolution and expansion of the bhakti movement was therefore due not to the generosity or connivance of the sultans of Delhi but to the potential strength of the Hindus themselves who formed a vastly superior element in the country's population. It was also made possible on account of the inoffensive character of the movement itself. Mr. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami says, on what authority I know not, that "there was hardly any saint of the bhakti school who had not passed some of his time in a *khanqah* (hospice of a sufi)." He is also mistaken in thinking that "Probably never before in the long history of Hinduism, religious leaders had sprung from those strata of society to which Chaitanya, Kabir, Nanak, Dhana, Dadu and others belonged." (*Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century* p. 264). Chaitanya belonged to an orthodox Brahman family ; Nanak was a high-caste Khattri, Dhana was a Jat, not a low caste among the Hindus, and Kabir, though brought up by a Muslim weaver, is said to have been born of a Brahman widow. Had Mr. Nizami taken pains to get himself acquainted with the history of Hinduism, he would have heard of Valmika, Ganika, Shivarī, Vidur and several others of low castes and both the sexes, who are even now reckoned as great saints of the ancient Hindu period. Gautam Buddha and Mahavir were not Brahmans, and Rama and Krishna, who are considered as incarnations of God by millions of Hindus, were Kshatriyas by caste. As has already been shown Islam did influence some of the leaders of the medieval bhakti movement, but it does little credit to professed scholars to ignore the canons of historical evidence and give a free vein to their imagination.

7

Sufism in India

Early history

The Islamic mysticism (called Sufism,) which is at once a body of doctrine and a movement, came to India many years before the establishment of the Sultanate of Delhi (1206). But it was after the foundation of the Turkish rule at Delhi that a large group of sufis from Islamic countries outside India migrated to this country and established themselves in many parts of Hindustan. In course of time sufi hermitages became dotted all over Northern India, and their leaders or Shaikhs divided the country among themselves as their religious spheres of influence. A moot question about Sufism is its origin and also whether it was purely Islamic or was affected by foreign influence and ideology. It is not possible to discuss this question at this place on account of its complexity ; but it may be indicated that scholars hold divergent views about it. Dr. Yusuf Husain says that Sufism was "born in the bosom of Islam," and that it was not influenced by foreign ideas and practices. He seems to believe that although it flourished in India for several hundred years, yet it remained immune from Indian thought and environment. We are not concerned with the birth and development of Sufism outside India. But as far as the history of this sect in this country is concerned there is no doubt about its having been profoundly influenced by Hindu thought, belief and practices. For example, the very conception of a loving God and the relations between God and soul as one of the beloved and the lover are peculiar to Hinduism and were adopted by the sufis in India. The Muslim conception of God is that of the *Master* and the relation between God and man in Islam is that between master and servant. Secondly, pacificism and non-violence which were imbibed by the Indian Muslim sufis are also peculiar to Christianity and to Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism (the latter three of which had their birth in India). In the third place, some of the ascetic practices, which involved the starving and torturing of the body, such as *Chillah-i-ma'kus* (the Inverted Chillah, which means the tying of a rope to one's feet and getting one's body lowered into a well and offering prayer in that posture for forty nights), also seem to have been borrowed from the Hindu and Buddhist practices. There were many other details in the ceremonies and practices of the Muslim sufis particularly of the Chishti order that too were of Indian origin and were certainly due to the Hindu environment. The Chishtis "adopted many Hindu customs and ceremonials in the initial stages of the development of their *Silsilah* in India. The practice of bowing before the Shaikh (head of a *khanqah*), presenting water to visitors, circulating *zanbil* (a bowl made of dried and hollow gourd), shaving the head of new entrants to the mystic circle, audition parties (*sama'*) and the *Chillah-i-ma'kus* had close resemblance to Hindu and Buddhist practices..."[1] Whatever might have been the original form of Sufism in Muslim countries outside India, it was transformed in its new setting in this country.

The philosophy of *Wahdat-ul-wujud*

The Muslim mysticism sprang from the doctrine of *Wahdat-ul-wujud* or the Unity of Being—a doctrine that identified the *Haq* and *Khalq*, the creator and the created. It means in plain language that God is the Unity behind all plurality and the Reality behind all phenomenal appearance. The *Futuhat-e-Makkiya* puts this idea in these words: "There is nothing but God, nothing in existence other than He; there is not even a 'there', where the essence of all things is one." This theory was propounded by Shaikh Muhi-ud-din Ibnul Arabi (1165-1240 A.D.).[2] His theory was, however, condemned by orthodox Muslims. Nevertheless in course of time it became an acknowledged belief of the Muslim sufis in India. The sufis craved for direct communion with God. They believed in the possibility of the mystic absorption of the human soul in the Absolute. Sufis were, it is said, so much absorbed in this ideal that a moment's diversion from the thought of the Absolute was unbearable to them.

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[1] K. A. Nizami, *Religion and Politics*, etc., pp. 178-79.

In order to attain the above ideal, which the sufis call *ma'rifat* (gnosis) or *wasl* (union), they practised austerities and led a life of devotion. In their journey to achieve the union with the Absolute they had to pass through ten stages which were: *Tauba* (repentance), *wara'* (abstinence), *zuhd* (piety), *faqr* (poverty), *sabr* (patience), *shukr* (gratitude), *khauf* (fear), *raja* (hope), *twakkul* (contentment) and *riza* (submission to the divine will).

In passing through the various stages of spiritual development the sufi felt excessive love and yearning for God. As a lover longs for the company of his beloved, so the sufi felt inspired to go as near Him as possible and forget all distinctions between what is described as 'I' and 'not I'. The sufi in order to be able to achieve his goal voluntarily renounced materialistic pursuits and shunned not only government service but also contact with rulers and administrators. Naturally he imbibed a love for humanity and came to believe in poverty, vegetarian diet, pacificism and non-violence. In short the goal of the sufis was the attainment of not only direct intellectual and emotional communion with God, but also service of humanity.

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[2] *Fatuhat-e-Makkiya.*

Work of proselytism

The sufis had a twofold object in view, viz., their own spiritual development and the service to Islam and to humanity. This was not confined to the Muslims alone of which in the early days the number was very small indeed. The sufis were keen to place before the Hindus, particularly those of lower castes, the message of Islam. In order, therefore, to be able to influence the Hindus and make them embrace Islam, they had to understand the language of the people and their religion as it was practised those days, if not, its philosophical and spiritual ideology. So they studied the Hindi language and the mode of worship of the common people among the Hindus, their religious ceremonies and social and religious way of life. One finds numerous Hindi words in the discourses of the early Muslim sufis in India. It will not be untrue to say that it were the sufis who for the first time laid the foundation of the future Urdu language, which became the medium of intercourse between them and the Indian public. In their proselytising activities the sufis employed practically the same methods that the early Christian missionaries of the 18th century did in Bengal, Madras, and other provinces. Love, persuasion, promise of material and social uplift, and above all that of opening for the prospective converts the door-way to heaven formed the chief planks in the sufi propagation of the Muslim religion and of proselytism.

They tried to look like Hindu sadhus and adopted some of their practices and outward behaviour in order obviously to ward off the suscipion of the lower orders of the Hindus. Sometimes they made use of trickery and the authority of the state to compel the Hindus to embrace Islam or to get them put to death by declaring them apostates, if they declined to become Muslims.[3]

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[3] *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, pp. 159-60. According to the law of Islam the punishment for apostasy was death.

Life in the *Khanqahs*

We have a considerable sufi literature of the early medieval period and it is of more than ordinary interest not only for the student of history, but also for one of religion and sociology. The work of the sufis was facilitated on account of the kind of life that they led. Most of them had established hermitages of the old Hindu type with this difference that whereas the early Hindu hermitages were situated in the forests far away from human habitation those of Muslim sufis such as their *khanqahs* and *jamait khanas* were established very near the houses of those who are now-a-days called the Harijans and scheduled class people. The *khanqahs* were generally mud-houses, thatched with straw, with just one or two rooms and a *jamait khana* was a big hall raised on pillars and thatched with straw. The sufis resided in the *khanqahs*, led married lives and had wives and children. Some of them had more than one wife. They were accustomed to a life of poverty and living on willing charity of the common people. A few of them earned their daily bread by cultivating land. But those of the Suhrawardi Order accepted grants from the state and lived in affluence. It was on account of this mode of living that they succeeded in producing great impression upon the general Hindu public.

Two main sufi orders

There were numerous orders of the sufis in India and Abul Fazl enumerates fourteen of them. Of these the Chishtia, the Suhrawardia, the Naqshbandia, the Qadiri, the Qalandaria, and the Shusttari orders were important. These orders were technically called *silsilahs*. The Suhrawardi order was confined to Sindh, Multan and the Panjab. Some of the Suhrawardi saints had also settled in Delhi and Awadh. The Chishtis, however, established themselves at Ajmer and some other towns of Rajasthan and in some parts of the Panjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and the Deccan. The popularity of the Chishti saints was due to their understanding of the Indian conditions, and, as we have already seen, to their adopting some of the Hindu customs and ceremonies.

The Chishti order : Muin-ud-din Chishti of Ajmer

The first saint of the Chishti order in India was Shaikh Muin-ud-din Chishti who lies buried at Ajmer and is popularly called the Khwaja. Legend and fable have served to obscure the main incidents of his career ; but the following facts stand out clearly and deserve notice. He was born in Sijistan, a province situated to the east of Persia, in or about 1141 A.D. His father died when he was quite young. On account of the unsettled condition in his homeland he sold all his property and became a recluse. He undertook a journey to Samarkand, Bokhara and other seats of Islamic learning, and, while at Harvan, a small town in the district of Naishapur, he met Khwaja Usman and became his disciple. He came to India in the prime of his life and after a brief stay at Lahore went to Ajmer and settled there. This happened before the invasion of Muhammad of Ghur and the defeat and death of Prithvi Raj. If the Khwaja deserves praise for braving all kinds of difficulties in his evangelical work in a foreign country it also speaks volumes of Hindu tolerance and friendliness towards non-Hindu foreigners. The Khwaja married two wives one of whom is said to have been a Hindu. He spent many years of his life at Ajmer.

The Khwaja adopted a catholic attitude in his dealings with the Hindus. Whether he had cultivated the pantheistic philosophy in his homeland of Sijistan or during his itinerary in Central Asia or he imbibed it from his Hindu surroundings at Ajmer is difficult to say. It is, however, certain that he did believe in and preached the philosophy of Non-Duality. He said, "When we transcended the externals and looked around, we found the lover, the beloved and the love (itself) to be one, i.e., in the sphere of Oneness all is one." His motto was that the highest form of devotion to God consists of doing service to humanity. This attitude towards God and the people brought the Khwaja great popularity. He lived to a ripe old age and died in or about 1236 A.D.

Hamid-ud-din Nagauri

The Khwaja had many disciples and followers who propagated his ideals and teachings. Two of the most important among them were Shaikh Hamid-ud-din and Shaikh Qutb-ud-din Bhakhtiyar Kaki. It is said that Hamid-ud-din was the first Muslim baby to have been born in Delhi after its conquest by Qutb-ud-din Aibak. He is said to have been voluptuous in his early life, but a sudden change came upon him after he had become the Khwaja's disciple. Eventually he became so good a mystic that the Khwaja conferred upon him the title of *Sultan-ut-Tarikin* (king of recluses). He and his wife lived in a small *kachcha* house in a village near Nagaur and cultivated a small plot of land for his living. He lived like a villager and was a vegetarian. He declined all kinds of gifts from the officials. Muslim writers extol his liberality of outlook by attesting that "he could discern and appreciate spiritual virtues in non-Muslims also."

Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki

Shaikh Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki was not an India-born Muslim. His native place was Aush in Farghana. He came to Multan and from there proceeded to Delhi during the reign of Iltutmish. The sultan requested him to stay near his palace, but the shaikh declined the offer and lived in a *khanqah* outside the city. He also declined the post of *Shaikh-ul-Islam.* On account of the ill-will of Najm-ud-din Sughra who was appointed to the post of Shaikh-ul-Islam after Qutb-ud-din had declined the offer, the latter decided to quit Delhi for Ajmer. The people of Delhi headed by the sultan followed the Shaikh several miles and consequently Khwaja Muin-ud-din Chishti directed Qutb-ud-din to remain in Delhi. Qutb-ud-din gave his moral support to the sultan in the latter's cultural projects. The Shaikh was very fond of mystic music. In one of these musical parties, he was overtaken by ecstasy, which lasted, it is said, for four days and he died during the 5th night on the 15th of November, 1235.

Farid-ud-din Ganj-i-Shakar

Of the two principal disciples of Qutb-ud-din, Shaikh Farid-ud-din Masud Ganj-i-Shakar (1175-1265) was easily the most notable. He worked in Hansi and Ajodhan and his religious activities were responsible for raising the Chishti Order of sufis to the status of an all-India organisation.

Farid-ud-din Ganj-i-Shakar, known popularly as Shaikh Farid and sometimes as Baba Farid, was born near Multan in 1175 A.D. He became a disciple of Shaikh Qutb-ud-din at a very early age and practised devotion and austerities including the *Chillah-i-ma'kus*. He settled down at Hansi and later on moved to Ajodhan. He had many wives and several children, and almost always lived on the verge of starvation.[4] He trained a large number of disciples and established many *khanqahs*. He was so popular that he was almost always surrounded by visitors and disciples. He became one of the most respected sufis in India. He died in 1265 A.D. and was buried at Ajodhan (Pakpatan).

Of the many disciples of Shaikh Farid seven were notable, and of them Shaikh Jamal-ud-din was considered his favourite. Jamal-ud-din was a man of great learning and an author of two scholarly treatises, one in Persian and the other in Arabic. He died in the life-time of his teacher.

Nizam-ud-din Auliya

The greatest disciple of Shaikh Farid was Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Aulia. He was born at Budaun in 1236 A.D. As his father had died while he was five years old, he was brought up by his pious mother. At the age of twenty he went to Ajodhan and became a disciple of Baba Farid. In 1258 he returned to Delhi and after moving from one place to another he settled down at Ghiyaspur in the premises now-a-days known as Nizam-ud-din-Aulia's shrine near that town. In 1265 Baba Farid bestowed upon him his *Khilafat-Namah* and charged him with the duty of propagating Chishtia mystic principles. And he performed his missionary work with eminent success. We have the testimony of the historian Barani that "Shaikh Nizam-ud-din had opened wide the doors of his discipleship... and admitted nobles and plebians, rich and poor, learned and illiterate, townsmen and villagers, soldiers and warriors, freemen and slaves, and these people refrained from many improper things, because they considered themselves disciples of the Shaikh. If any of the disciples committed a sin, he confessed, it (before the shaikh) and vowed allegiance anew. The general public showed an inclination to religion and prayer ; men and women, young and old, shopkeepers and servants, children and slaves, all came to say their prayers. Most of them who visited the shaikh frequently offered their *chast* and *Ishraq* prayers regularly."[5]

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[4] *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 66-67.

Nizam-ud-din Aulia witnessed the reigns of seven sultans of Delhi, but he did not attend the darbar of any of them. Jalal-ud-din Firoz Khalji was keen to see the shaikh, but the latter declined to meet him. He also declined to obey the summons of Qutb-ud-din Mubarak to visit his court. But as he had accepted a large sum of money from Nasir-ud-din Khusrau Shah, the first Tughluq Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din had the shaikh tried before a tribunal of fiftythree theologians on the charge of his indulging in the forbidden musical parties. But the shaikh was acquitted and the ill-will between him and the sultan continued. There was another cause of estrangement. The shaikh had enrolled the sultan's eldest son Ulugh Khan, the future Muhammad bin Tughluq, among his disciples and made a prophecy that he would soon become king of Delhi. So when the sultan was on an expedition to Bengal, he wrote a threatening letter to the shaikh adding that when he returned, Delhi would not be adequate enough to have both of them.

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[5] Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, pp. 343-44.

Nizam-ud-din replied : "Delhi is yet far off (*hanoz Dilli dur ast*)." It so happened that Ghiyas-ud-din died as the result of an accident outside Delhi. People believed that it was due to the shaikh's curse.

Nizam-ud-din Aulia acquired great fame during his lifetime and became known as *Mahbub-i-Ilahi* (the beloved of God). His religious activities had a great deal to do with the popularity of the Chishti Order in India. His success was due to his saintly virtues as well as to his love and service of humanity. He died in 1325.

Shaikh Nasir-ud-din Chiragh of Delhi

The last great sufi of the Chishti Order who enjoyed an all-India reputation was Shaikh Nasīr-ud-din Mahmud, popularly known as Chirāgh of Delhi. His forefathers had come from Central Asia and settled down at Lahore. But his grandfather had migrated to Ayodhya and it was there that Nasīr-ud-din Mahmud was born. His father Yahya had died when he was a boy of nine, but the family was in prosperous condition and, therefore, his mother gave him a good education. When he reached the age of 25, he decided to be a mystic and prepared himself by assiduous study and discipline for that kind of life. He would spend practically the whole day, reading, praying and meditating in a mausoleum in a mango-grove outside his home town with only a little time off for a short afternoon nap. He led this kind of life for years. At the age of nearly 45 he went to see Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Aulia at Delhi and became his disciple. He settled in a private house in the city and was initiated into the mystic order by Nizam-ud-din and was patronised by him.

Shaikh Nasīr-ud-din lived upto the high standard prescribed by his teacher, and cultivated poverty and resignation. He avoided kings and their courts. He was appointed his successor (khalifa) by Nizam-ud-din Aulia, whose traditions he continued at Delhi. He came to have many disciples and followers, but as he deliberately avoided going to court, he came into conflict with Qutb-ud-din Mubarak (1316-1320), who wanted him to come for his prayers to the Masjid Miri, but the Shaikh declined to go there and prayed in a mosque nearby. Fortunately for him the trouble was over as the sultan was assassinated by his favourite Khusrau who set himself up as Nasir-ud-din Khusrau Shah. During the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq too there was some difficulty, as this ruler wanted mystics to enter into his service and to carry out his orders. Many a sufi complied out of fear, but Shaikh Nasīr-ud-din declined the offer, and remained adamant. He was, however, obliged to pay a visit to the sultan and was lucky enough to return safe, refusing to accept a bag of tankas and two pieces of green and black woollen cloth that the sultan had presented to him. The shaikh was obliged to attend the sultan on his Thatta expedition, but after the death of Muhammed bin Tughluq in the camp he along with some other notables, became responsibe for raising Firoz Tughluq to the throne.

Shaikh Nasīr-ud-din continued his missionary work, but he was not satisfied with Firoz Tughluq, and his way of life. It is said that a melancholy sadness became imprinted on the shaikh's face during the later days of his life. This was due to the misery of the people all around. He was, however, happy with his disciples and with numerous students who came to him for instruction. Another reason why he was rather sad was that he was so much thronged by the people that he found little time for his personal devotion, study and prayer. He died in 1336. He was the last great saint of the Chishti *silsilah* to have enjoyed an all-India reputation.[6]

Shaikh Salim Chishti

One of the notable 16th century Chishti sufis was Shaikh Salim of Fatehpur Sikri, but he did not rise to the stature of Nizam-ud-din Auliya, Nasīr-ud-din Chiragh-i-Delhi and other celebrities of the earlier age. He was a contemporary of Akbar the Great and had his hermitage in a cave in the hill of Sikri where the emperor called on him. It is said that Prince Jahangir was born due to the blessings of the shaikh and was, therefore, called by Akbar, Shaikhu Baba. This shaikh too had married and had children in accordance with the practice of Muslim sufis. It is noteworthy that with the exception of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Aulia all prominent sufis of this order had led married lives. It is also curious that the sons of most of these saints had turned out to be unworthy. Shaikh Salim's sons and grandsons, on the other hand, had risen high in state employment under Akbar and his successors. Shaikh Salim continued the saintly traditions of his order and acquired great fame. He died in the life-time of Akbar and was buried in the enclosure of the famous Jami mosque of Fatehpur Sikri. A handsome mausoleum was erected over his grave. It is looked upon as an architectural gem in that town, and is visited by not only tourists but also by pious men from distant lands.

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[6] Mohammed Habib, *Saikh Nasīr-ud-din Mahmud Chiragh-i-Delhi*, vide *Islamic Culture*, April 1946, pp. 129-53.

Life of Chishti Sufis

The saints of the Chishti Order believed in simplicity and poverty. The possession of private property was looked upon by them as a serious impediment to the development of their spiritual personality. Although most of them led married life and had children, yet very few of them owned houses. Their houses were generally speaking made of mud and had thatched roofs. Usually they did not accept any subsistence allowance from the state and lived on charity willingly given by prosperous men who could afford. Sometimes they were compelled to incur debts. It is said that Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar suffered from starvation, but did not like to borrow food or money from any one. Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Aulia is said to have remarked that on one occasion he had to go without food for a night and a day and that on another occasion he starved for three days. The Chishti sufis cultivated fasting in order to weaken and control their baser desires. Their clothes were scanty. Usually they wrapped themselves in a patched *do-tahi* (two-plied cloth). They liked to put on tattered clothes. The married life of most of the sufis of this order was happy, although some of them had more than one life. Nizam-ud-din Aulia, however, remained a bachelor throughout his life. These sufis were so much absorbed in their mystic contemplation and in looking after the problems of other people that they paid little attention to the bringing up of their own children. The result was that their sons failed to walk in the foot-steps of their fathers and became worldly people. "No son of an early Chishti saint of India," writes Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, "was mentally or spiritually in a position to keep the torch of his father burning. If the only son of Shaikh Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar was 'unworthy of his father', a grandson of Shaikh Farid was a drunkard and a grandson of Shaikh Najib-ud-din was a vagabond. They possessed worldly wisdom, but were devoid of all spiritual integrity."[7]

Daily routine of Chishti Sufis

A word is necessary about the daily routine of the Chishti mystics. It is said about Shaikh Farid that he got up early in the morning, sat for his morning prayers and remained in a state of prostration (*sajdah*) for two hours. He received visitors after his *zuhr* prayer and spoke to all those who came to see him. In the afternoon he again engaged himself in the affairs of the jamait khana. We have a more detailed account of the daily routine of Nizam-ud-din Aulia. He said his prayers early in the morning in congregation, after which he retired for meditation. After sunrise he would see the visitors. At about mid-day he would retire to a private room for a short rest and mid-day sleep. After the *zuhr* prayer (about 1 p.m.) he would again retire to receive special visitors who were granted interviews. In the evening he would go to the jamait khana where he would break his fast and eat a piece of bread and a little vegetable. After finishing his evening (*maghrib*) prayer he would again grant interviews to the visitors until the time of *isha* prayer

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[7] *Op. Cit.,* pp. 204-5.

(about 8 p.m.). He participated in the *isha* prayer in congregation after which he started telling the beads of his rosary. At that time none except Amir Khusrau and the relations of the shaikh and some children was allowed to go near him. In the night he would again busy himself in meditation.[8]

The Suhrawardi Order : Baha-ud-din Zakariyya of Multan

The Suhrawardi order was the next important sufi order, and it established itself predominantly in north-western India. The founder of this order was Shaikh Shihab-ud-din Suhrawardi who directed his disciples to work in India. Prominent among these were Shaikh Hamid-ud-din Nagauri and Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakariyya of Multan. Although many sufis of this branch did well and acquired fame, the credit of organising the Suhrawardi order in India belongs to Baha-ud-din Zakariyya. He was born at Kot Aror near Multan in 1182-83 A.D. In his early career he visited Khurasan, Bukhara, Medina and Palestine in order to complete his study at these centres of Islamic learning. While at Baghdad he became a disciple of Shaikh Shihab-ud-din Suhrawardi. On his master's directions he set up a khanqah at Multan where he lived and worked for about half a century. He died in December 1262.

Baha-ud-din Zakariyya was a most influential mystic of the 13th century. His mystic ideology differed greatly from that of the Chishti sufis. Unlike them he did not believe in poverty and the torturing of the body. He led a balanced and comfortable life, bestowing as much care on his body as on his mind and spirit. He did not believe in too much of fasting and self-mortification, and was punctilious in the observances of the rules of Islam, including the manner in which the daily prayers had to be performed, He emphasised the external forms of Islam and rejected the Hindu practice of bowing before the Shaikh and other Indian ceremonies which the Chishtis had adopted in India. He liked his followers to salute him in the orthodox Muslim fashion—saying *as salam alekum.*

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[8] *Ibid*, pp. 206-7.

Baha-ud-din Zakariyya did not shun wealth. In fact he accummulated it. He also took part in political affairs of the time and associated freely with rulers and administrators. Naturally, therefore, he attracted a large number of men, especially well-to-do ones, to his fold. The system on which Baha-ud-din Zakariyya organised the Suhrawardi order of the sufis thus differed greatly from that of the Chishti order.

Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakariyya had seven sons and many disciples. His son Sadr-ud-din Arif took up his place in Multan, while his disciple Sayyid Jalal-ud-din Surkh Bukhari established himself at Uchch. Thus the Suhrawardi order in India became split up into two branches—the Multan Branch and the Uchch Branch. After Baha-ud-din Zakariyya the principle of hereditary succession became the rule with Suhrawardi sufis. Sadr-ud-din functioned as the head of the Multan branch of this order for about twenty three years. He differed from his father fundamentally in matters of religion and politics. Unlike Baha-ud-din he looked upon the accummulation of wealth as an impediment in development of his spiritual personality. It is said that he gave away in charity seven lakhs of tankas that he had inherited from his father as his share of the patrimony. He simplified life in the khanqahs as well; but in other respects he does not seem to have made any vital change in the Suhrawardi order.

Jalal-ud-din Surkh had come from Bokhara and become a disciple of Baha-ud-din Zakariyya. He acquired influence and converted many Hindus of Uchch to Islam. He had three sons. His grandson named Sayyid Jalal-ud-din Makhdum-i-Jahanian (1308-1383) became one of the most celebrated Suhrawardi saints of his time. He wielded great influence in the religious and political life of Sindh. He had travelled widely in Islamic countries outside India, and come into contact with many mystics of that age. He was appointed Shaikh-ul-Islam by Muhammad bin Tughluq, but sometime after he resigned the post and went on a pilgrimage to Mecca. He was on very friendly terms with Shaikh Nasir-ud-din Chiragh Dehlavi and accepted from him the insignia of the Chishti order. After

Muhammad bin Tughluq's death he was honoured by his successor, Firoz Tughluq.

The Multan branch of the Suhrawardi order acquired even greater importance. After Sadr-ud-din Arif's death his son Rukn-ud-din Abul-Fath became the shaikh. He did a great deal for elevating the Suhrawardi order and propagating its teachings. Modern writers are of the opinion that Rukn-ud-din occupied the same place in the history of the Suhrawardi order that Nizam-ud-din Auliya occupied in that of the Chishti order. He worked tirelessly for nearly half a century and propagated the mystic ideas of the Suhrawardi order so successfully that not only common people but also a good many ulama flocked to his khanqah and became his disciples. The historian Zia-ud-din Barani bears testimony to his saintliness and to the excellent apostolic work that he performed in Sindh.

The Suhrawardi sufis took greater care of their families and devoted more time to the upbringing and training of their sons than the Chishtis. Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakariyya was particular about the education of his sons, engaged tutors to coach them and paid them handsome salaries. Like the Chishti saints the sufis of this order sometimes married more than one wife. Their organisation of the khanqahs differed from that of the Chishtis. This was due to the fact that Suhrawardis did not eschew politics. As has been said above Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakariyya not only mixed freely with the sultans, but also amassed a great deal of wealth for himself. We are told that he was probably the richest Muslim saint of medieval India. The Chishti saints are said to have given away money in charity as soon as it came to them, but those of the Suhrawardi order did not believe in dispensing this kind of charity. Baha-ud-din Zakariyya stored his wealth carefully and spent it with care. He was so rich that he had a treasury consisting of a large number of boxes full of gold coins. We are told by Nizami that once a box containing 5,000 gold tankas was found missing, but this loss was not considered a serious one.

The hermitages of the Suhrawardi sufis were organised on an altogether different pattern from that of the Chishtis. Where the Chishti jamait khana accommodated all inmates and visitors in one big hall, the khanqahs of the former covered an extensive area and were designed to provide separate accommodation for all inmates and visitors. The Suhrawardi shaikh lavishly entertained all his guests, and the invitees were allowed to dine with him. Naturally, there were stored a large stock of cereals and a good deal of money in the Suhrawardi khanqah. All this came regularly from the land assigned to the shaikh by the state. It is also noteworthy that all kinds of people were not welcomed at the Suhrawardi khanqahs. Baha-ud-din Zakariyya is reported to have said that he had nothing to do with the general public as no reliance could be placed upon them. He gave spiritual blessings to the select, and did not permit *qalandars* and other *fakirs* to visit his khanqah. He had fixed hours for meeting visitors. He did not like to be disturbed by them at odd hours.

There was some contemporary criticism of Baha-ud-din Zakariyya for accummulating wealth. Mystics thought that the accummulation of wealth was an impediment to spiritual progress. But the shaikh defended his action, though not convincingly in the eyes of his fellow mystics of other orders.

Shaikh Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maniari

A prominent branch of the Suhrawardi order was that of the Firdausia mystics. The activities of this branch were largely confined to Bihar, and Shaikh Sharf-ud-din Yahia was a prominent leader of the order. He was a learned man and left behind him a good number of his letters known as his *makt-u-bat* in which he tried to reconcile the doctrine of *Wahdat-ul-Wujud* (Unity of Being) with the law of Islam. He says that in the attaining to the stage of immediate vision (*shuhud*), the relation between God and man does not really change. The man remains man and God remains God. The union with God is not like the union of one body with another or of one substance with another substance. One's nearness to God or remoteness from Him depends upon his knowledge or lack of it and the intenseness of his devotion to Him. He said that men of vision alone can realise it. Reason is not helpful in a matter like this.

Shaikh Sharf-ud-din was a scholar and thinker and at the same time he was a practical guide who laid stress on the service of humanity. He believed that it was equally desirable for a mystic to engage himself in spiritual devotion and also in the task of making the people happy. The shortest path leading to God is that of consoling the afflicted. He also believed that one should discharge the duties of his own avocation. It was essential for a king, he said, to administer his state and not to spend his days and nights in prayers.

Qadri Order

This order was founded by Shaikh Abdur Qadir Jilani of Baghdad in the 12th century A.D. The order was particularly responsible for the spread of Islam in Central Asia and Western Africa. The early saints of this order in India were Shah Niyamat Ullah and Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Jilani who flourished in the middle of the 15th century. Muhammad Jilani settled at Uchch in Sindh. His great-grandsons, named Shaikh Abdur Qadir and Shaikh Musa, migrated to Agra where Musa was given a mansab by Akbar, but Shaikh Abdur Qadir declined to enter government service. Akbar objected to his saying prayers in the Diwan-i-Am at Fatehpur Sikri and asked him to pray at home. The shaikh replied, "My king, this is not your kingdom that you should pass orders." Akbar cancelled his grant of land and the shaikh had to go back to Uchch.

Prince Dara Shikoh, the eldest son of Shah Jahan, became the follower of the Qadri order, and visited Mian Mir (1550-1635) at Lahore. When Mian Mir died, Dara became a disciple of his successor named Mullah Shah Badakhshi. After having learnt the mystic knowledge of the Qadri order Dara wrote two books dealing with the biographies of Muslim mystics.

The Naqshbandi Order

The Naqshbandi order of mystics was late in coming to India. It was introduced in this country by Khwaja Baqi-Billah (1563-1603), who was seventh in the line of succession to the founder named Khwaja Baha-ud-din Naqshbandi (1317-1389). This order believed in orthodox Islam and stressed the observance of the law of the prophet. It was altogether against religious innovations.

Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi

Baqi-Billah's chief disciple was Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi, a contemporary of Akbar and Jahangir and known generally as Mujaddid. He was a man of great energy and of dynamic personality. Though a mystic, he possessed a virile character. He attacked the mystic philosophy of the Unity of Being (*Wahdat-ul-Wujud*) and rejected it. In its place he expounded the philosophy of apparentism (*Wahdat-ush-Shuhud*). He said that the Unity of Being is not an objective but a subjective experience. The mystic who indulges in this philosophy feels that he is identified with God, but really such an experience is illusive. It is wrong to think that the mystic loses his self or that his self is completely annihilated. Such an attitude is transient. Shaikh Ahmad also rejected the principle of immanence which he considered as contrary to the law of Islam. He said that the relation between man and God is that of slave and master, and not that of lover and beloved as the sufis generally think. In short, Shaikh Ahmad's object was to harmonise the doctrine of mysticism with the teaching of orthodox Islam, and that is why he is known as Mujaddid, i.e., the renovator and reformer of Islam.

Shaikh Ahmad wrote numerous letters to his disciples and followers in Persian and these have been collected and printed in book-form in three volumes. They are known as Maktubat-i-Rabbani. He is said to have arrested the policy of liberalising Islam and that of toleration enunciated by Akbar, and influenced Jahangir in favour of orthodox Islam. He lies buried at Sarhind and his tomb is a place of pilgrimage for Musalmans of India, Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Shah Walli-Ullah

Another great sufi saint of the Naqshbandi order was Walli-Ullah of Delhi (1702-1762). His fame rests on the fact that he is said to have successfully reconciled the two doctrines of *Wahdat-ul-Wujud* and *Wahdat-ush-Shuhud.* His belief was that there was no fundamental difference between the two theories. He said that real existence belongs to God alone and that he alone has actual independent being. The world is not real, and yet it is not imaginary either. "God is the only self-subsisting, eternal and necessary being and all else is created and has a contingent existence. In different respects God transcends and indwells. His transcendence and His immanence are united through their different functions in God's total being, in which all reality is included and all distinctions are annulled." The only reality, he said, manifests itself in an infinity of forms. Therefore, if there be any difference at all between the two theories, it is insignificant and can be ignored. The two experiences, *Wahdut-ul-Wujud* and *Wahdat-ush-Shuhud,* were relative terms to be used on two different occasions as arguments about the existence of God and His relations with man and the world. These were two different approaches to the same reality.

Shah Walli-Ullah was a scholar of repute and he wrote a number of books on mysticism. His was a powerful intellect which secured recognition from the intellectuals of the age.

Khwaja Mir Dard

Mir Dard was the last notable mystic of the Naqshbandi order. He too was opposed to the doctrine of *Wahdat-ul-*

Wujud. But he recognised that in the last analysis both the doctrines of the Unity of Being and apparentism had one and the same object in view. They were intended to detach one's heart from the affiliations of the phenomenal world. They were meant for the intellectuals and not for the common people. Like Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi he too had his leanings towards Muslim orthodoxy, through which he expounded his own mystic theory called '*Ilme-Ilahi Muhammadi*' (Knowledge of God in the teachings of Muhammad). He was a notable poet of Persian and Urdu and was the author of a number of books on mysticism.

Though the sufi movement might have, in the long run exerted some influence on the contemporary Hindu religious practice, the Hindus in general had kept themselves aloof from the Muslim sufis for a pretty long time. Some Hindus of the lower classes might have come into contact with the sufis, but the bulk of them did not associate themselves with them. It was from the time of Akbar, however, that the Hindus began coming into close contact with Muslim sufis. During the 17th and 18th centuries quite a good number of Hindu intellectuals not only associated themselves with Muslim sufis, but they also adopted sufistic thought, behaviour and practices. These Hindus belonged to the upper strata of society and were highly educated and cultured. Notwithstanding the attempt of the Suhrawardi and Naqshbandi schools to purge Muslim mysticism of Indian influences, a vast majority of the Muslim sufis in this country remained true to the ideals laid down by the Chishti order. Sufism of the Chishti variety is 'mainly an off-shoot of the Vedanta of the Hindus,' and therefore Persian-educated Hindus leaned towards it. The result was a rapid spread of sufism in India.

The Hindus who accepted the sufi philosophy produced a vast mass of sufi literature in Persian. This shows the popularity and wide prevalence of sufism among the Indian people, both Hindus and Muslims, in the 17th and 18th centuries. According to the historian Sir Jadunath Sarkar it might have been due to two factors : the political and economic anarchy that came in the wake of the down-fall of the Mughal empire and an urge on the part of the two communities to come nearer together, for that way lay their salvation and that of the country. The bhakti movement and "Sufi philosophy tended to bring the ruling sect and the dominated people closer together." (Sir Jadunath Sarkar)

8

Education

The culture and civilisation of a people depend upon the system of education imparted to their boys and girls. The education of Muslims in medieval India not only determined the shape of their political, social, economic and cultural institutions, but also moulded their character and outlook on life. There was a good arrangement for all grades of education for youngmen in medieval India, but it suffered from an excessive theological bias. In fact it was so much dominated by theological considerations that secular subjects, upon which depended the economic, social and political well-being of the people, were practically ignored. There was hardly any arrangement for the teaching of the subjects of Indian interest, such as ancient Indian history and philosophy, Sanskrit language and literature, Hindu religion and social organisation, in the schools and colleges, both private and public, and most of the teachers in the higher schools were foreigners from Persia, Arabia and Central Asia. In view of these reasons the medieval Indian Muslims developed an extra-Indian complex. The system of education was not healthy and profitable either for the Muslims themselves or for the country.

Before the establishment of the Sultanate of Delhi, there had already developed a Muslim system of education in Islamic countries outside India. There were many madrsahs in Arabia, Persia and Central Asia and other Muslim countries. The madrsahs were centres of theology with subsidiary linguistic studies. These were strongholds of orthodox Islam and were supported by the state. The main object of these seats of learning was to establish a body of beliefs and a discipline for the conservation and dissemination of Islamic doctrine. The madrsahs also supplied to the state recruits for the posts of sadrs, qazis, muftis and other administrators. "Theology being the mode of thought of medieval times," writes Dr. Yusuf Husain, "politics, philosophy and education were brought under its control and adjusted to a technical theological terminology. Men thought theologically and expressed themselves theologically.........."[1]

There were three types of educational institutions in medieval India : (1) maktabs, (2) schools attached to mosques and khanqahs and (3) madrsahs. The first two types of schools were primary schools, where elementary instruction was imparted in reading and writing Arabic and Persian, more particularly the latter. The Quran was taught and the pupils were required to memorise it, without understanding it. Sometimes elementary arithmetic was also taught. The schools attached to the khanqahs imparted instructions in mystic philosophy and way of life. The madrsahs were higher steats of education, some of which developed into famous seats of learning ; but all of them had a distinct religious bias. The number of maktabs was very large indeed. There was a maktab and sometimes more than one wherever there was a considerable Muslim population. Almost every mosque had a maktab or a school attached to it, and there were sometimes maktabs attached to mausoleums. But the number of madrsahs was not very large, and they flourished only in towns and cities.

The education of the Muslims in medieval India was not only subsidised by the state, but it was also to a great extent controlled and guided by it. Barring twentyfive years of the second half of Akbar's reign, the sadr (minister for ecclesiastical and judicial affairs) was in charge of educational affairs and it was his duty to ensure for the state a regular supply of learned Muslim divines, such as qazis, muftis, mir adls, muhatasibs and other administrators. He was an organiser of Muslim scholars, called the ulama, and was almost invariably their head. He was called Shaikh-ul-Islam. As it was a primary duty of a Muslim ruler not only to follow the Muslim law in his personal life, but also to apply it in the administration of the country, it was essential for him to maintain an organisation of scholars devoted to the study, teaching and propagation of the knowledge of *shar'* or Muslim religion and law. The members of this organisation were called the ulama or the learned. The organisation functioned under the supervision of the Sadr or Shaikh-ul-Islam, and it was the latter's duty "to keep a close watch over the ulama of the state, enquire into their condition and capacities as teachers and instructors, and exercise full control over the teaching of all sorts of knowledge in the state."[2] In exercising this function he had to "be in touch with teachers and students, and discourage, and if necessary prohibit, the teachings of subjects which might affect the religious ideas of the Muslims."[3] One of his duties was to "encourage and properly reward honest and capable teachers and intelligent and promising students." In other words, the ecclesiastical minister exercised "a sort of censorship over education, ideas and morals of the people. It was in this capacity that he exercised an immense influence, and his hand reached every individual of the state. Here he acted as the representative of the ulama of the state and brought to the notice of the king what he thought detrimental or prejudicial to the interests of his religion, and the king had little option in acting upon such advice."[4] It is thus clear that the education of the Musalmans, more particularly the higher one, that was imparted in madrsahs either established by the state or maintained by private agencies, was under a vigorous control of the state. It may be that some private primary and even secondary schools which did not receive any aid from the state, had some kind of independence in the matter of subjects and books that they taught ; but as a general rule they had to fall in line with the policy prescribed by the sadr.[5]

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[1] *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture*, p. 69.

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[2] Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, p. 257.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid*, p. 258.

For the above two reasons, viz., a preponderate theological bias and state control, the educational system of medieval India was very much vitiated. The state wanted a certain type of men, and the ulama who were the educators from top to bottom, were interested in the creation of orthodox Muslims capable of maintaining the supremacy of Islam and of preserving the separate identity of the Muslim community. The aims and objects of the two were identical, and they co-operated in the implementation of the scheme.

The sultans of Delhi, unlettered though some of them were, were deeply interested in education. The Ghaznavids took the lead in this matter. Masaud, in carrying out the traditional policy of his father under whom Ghazni had become a great centre of Islamic learning, established a school at Lahore which became in course of time a centre of Muslim learning in India in the 12th century. When Delhi became the capital of the sultanate it rivalled Lahore. Here were established a number of madrsahs to which Muslim scholars from other countries outside India were attracted as teachers. We are told by Hasan Nizami, the author of Taj-ul-Maasir, that Muhammad of Ghur had established a number of madrsahs at Ajmer. Iltutmish was the first to lay the foundation of a madrsah at Delhi. After the name of Muhammad of Ghur he built another madrsah at Badayun. During the reign of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud (1246-1260) his minister Balban founded a madrsah, and named it Madrsah-e-Nasiriya. The celebrated author of Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, named Minhaj-us-Siraj, was appointed principal of this madrsah. Balban's court was famous for schools, theologians, poets and philosophers who had fled from the fury of Mongol invasions from their homes in Central Asia and had taken shelter at Delhi. Two of the most celebrated Indian poets of Persian, named Mir Hasan and Amir Khusrau, adorned the court of Balban and enjoyed the patronage of his eldest son, Prince Muhammad.

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[5] Aurangzeb is said to have objected to *Tasvia*, a book written by Shaikh Muhib-ullah Allahabadi, being taught in a private school, as it contained a certain statement which was unorthodox. See *Maasir-ul-Umra*, Vol. III, pp. 606-7.

Under the Khaljis there was great educational progress and Ala-ud-din founded a madrsah at Delhi and near it he excavated a large tank and named it the Hauz Khas. In 1346 Muhammad bin Tughluq built another madrsah at Delhi, and had a mosque attached to it. Under Firoz Tughluq education made great strides, as he was personally interested in founding madrsahs. He built as many as thirty madrsahs in different parts of his kingdom. The most important of these was one at Delhi, and was called Madrsah-i-Firozshahi. Is was situated near the Hauz Khas. The historian Barani has given a good account of this educational institution.

It is worthwhile to form an idea about Firoz Tughluq's madrsah, for it may be taken to have been the model after which later seats of learning in medieval India were founded. It was situated on the southern bank of the famous Hauz Khas, a large tank covering an area of about 70 acres of land and excavated by Ala-ud-din Khalji in 1298. The madrsah was a magnificent building and was established in 1352. "Its magnificence," says the historian Barani, "architectural proportions and pleasant air make it so unique among the great buildings of the world that it would be justifiable if it claimed superiority over the *Khawarnaq* built by Sinmar or the palace of Kisra." It was a double-storeyed building surrounded by arched verandahs and had projecting windows overlooking the tank. The facade of the building was impressive and presented an effective combination of the Hindu columns and the Muslim arch. It had a beautiful garden in front, but within the gate. The madrsah itself stood in the centre of the garden. It covered an extensive area and had many lecture rooms. There were a mosque and some hostels attached to it with the quarters for the *Imams* and other servants of the mosque. The rooms of the building were furnished with costly carpets from Shiraz, Yemen and Damscus. Maulana Jalal-ud-din Rumi was its principal (according to another authority Sayyid Yusuf), and there were several other teachers of repute. The teachers were required to put on an uniform consisting of Syrian jubbah and the Egyptian turban. The institution was liberally endowed with funds from the state treasury, and both boarding and lodging were free for all teachers and students.

We are in the dark about the courses of study and the books prescribed for various classes. Barani, however, tells us that *Tafsir* (Quranic exegesis), *Hadis* (traditions of the Prophet) and *Fiqh* (Muslim jurisprudence) were taught. Mr. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami suggests that as Firoz Tughluq was deeply interested in astronomy, history and medicine, it should be presumed that these subjects too were taught in the school.

We have little information about the method of teaching. Probably the traditional medieval method of teaching through the prescribed books and making students to commit important works to memory was in vogue. It is likely that seminars and mutual discussions among the students were also held. The madrsah was a residential institution, but day-scholars were also permitted to study and attend lectures. The students and the teachers said their prayers in the mosque attached to it, five times a day. Those who had learnt the Quran by heart recited it every day.

The overall impression produced by the madrsah on a contemporary poet, who paid a visit to it, may best be described in his words : "The moment I entered this blessed building through the gate, I saw an even space as wide as the plain of the world. The court-yard was soul-animating and its expanse was life-giving. Its dust was musk-scented and its fragrance possessed the odour of *amber*. There was verdure everywhere and hyacinths, basils, roses and tulips were blooming, and were beautifully arranged so far as the human eye could reach. It seemed as if the last year's produce had in advance the current year's fruits, such as pomegranates, oranges, guavas, quinces, apples, and grapes. Nightingales, so to say, were singing their melodious songs everywhere. It appeared as if they had guitars in their talons and flutes in their beaks."[6]

There must have been a good library attached to the institution. But unfortunately no contemporary writer has given any idea about it.

After Firoz Tughluq there seems to have been a lull in the educational activity on account of the havoc wrought by Timur in 1398-99 and the after-effects of his invasion. There was a revival of learning when Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517) was able to bring a large part of Northern India under his control and to give it some kind of peace and security. This sultan was himself a poet and a litterateur, and he is credited with the establishment of many madrsahs in all parts of his kingdom. Agra became an important seat of Muslim learning during his reign. Abdul Haq Muhaddis says that Sikandar invited learned men from Arabia, Persia and Central Asia and appointed them teachers in his newly established madrsahs. He founded madrsahs at Mathura and Narwar. In his madrsah at Agra Sikandar appointed a learned scholar named Abdullah as principal. It is said that the sultan liked Shaikh Abdullah's method of teaching and sometimes attended his lectures. This madrsah at Agra became popular all over Hindustan. It was during the reign of Sikandar Lodi that Hindus, particularly the Kayasthas, took to the study of Persian language and literature. It was in this period that some of the provincial centres like Jaunpur, Ahmedabad, Bihar Sharif, Mandu, Gulbarga, Bidar, Elichpur, Daultabad and a number of places in Bengal became important centres of Islamic learning in view of the patronage of local dynasties that had established themselves on the eve of the fall of Tughluq kingdom. Jaunpur, for example, became known as 'Shiraz of India'. The Bidar madrsah established by Muhmud Gawan acquired fame as a great institution. It had a magnificent building, attached to which were a library and living rooms for students and teachers.

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[6] *Diwan-i-Mutahhar*, vide K. A. Nizami, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, p. 88.

In the madrsahs of the sultanate period (1206-1526) the curriculum followed was borrowed from the Islamic countries outside India. Great stress was laid on theology and everywhere the main subjects taught were : *Tafsir* (exegesis), *Hadis* (traditions) and *Fiqh* (jurisprudence). The non-theological subjects taught were grammar, literature, logic and Muslim scholasticism (*Kalam*). But these too had a theological bias. No fee was charged from the students, and they were provided free books and free board and lodging.

In the beginning of the Mughal age education received great impetus. Babar was a fine scholar and a lover of literature and art. He founded a madrsah at Delhi where arrangements were made for the teaching of mathematics, astronomy and geography, besides the traditional subjects of Muslim theology. Humayun too was a first-rate scholar and though not possessed of that kind of fastidious taste as his father had he too encouraged scholarship. Under Sher Shah and his successors the institutions of Islamic learning flourished and received royal patronage.

There was no change in the curriculum and in the method of teaching until the middle of Akbar's reign. He was the first Muslim ruler of India to have noticed the stereotyped character of the Islamic institutions in this country. The subjects taught in Muslim madrsahs did not produce men with a breadth of vision and wide knowledge necessary for the citizen of a country like India, which was predominently Hindu. Therefore, Akbar took steps to introduce reforms in the school curriculum. He laid down that "Every boy ought to read books on morals, arithmetic, the notation peculiar to arithmetic, agriculture, mensuration, geometry, astronomy, physiogonomy, household matters, the rules of government, medicine, logic, the tabii (physical sciences) riyazi (science that treats of quantity) and Ilahi (theology), science and history ; all of which may be gradually acquired."[7]

Akbar directed that in the schools meant for Sanskrit learning, Vyakaran, Nyaya, Vedant and the commentary of Patanjali should be tought. It was perhaps desired that those Muslim students who took up Sanskrit should also learn these subjects. The new regulation laid down that "No one should be allowed to neglect those subjects which the present time requires."[8] Moreover, Akbar tried to simplify the mode of instructions. He felt that much time was wasted by making boys at school to read many books and therefore he ordered that first a boy should learn to write the letters of the alphabet and then learn to trace their various forms. The next step prescribed was to learn to write combined words. Thereafter he should commit to memory "Some verses to the praise of God or moral sentences each written separately. Care is to be taken that he learnt to understand everything himself; but the teacher may assist him a little." Thus the change constituted in making the student to exert himself and the teacher only to assist him in learning.[9]

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[7] *Ain.*, Vol. I (2nd ed.), p. 289.

Whether these reforms really proved efficacious one cannot say. But the fact that the age of Akbar produced great men in various spheres of activity indicates that these educational reforms fulfilled the object that Akbar had in view.

Perhaps Akbar introduced no reform in the curriculum and in the method of instruction followed in the traditional theological Muslim madrsahs or higher seats of learning. There must, however, have been some kind of a change towards liberalism. though it was very slight. Akbar appointed in 1580 and onward chief sadrs who were men of liberal religious views. Education being in their charge, it is probable that there might have been some kind of thaw in the ideological environment of these institutions. Basically, however, the Muslim madrsahs continued to be the stronghold of orthodox and old fashioned scholasticism. One healthy change, a faint beginning of which was made in the time of Sikandar Lodi, continued during the reign of Akbar. It was that Hindu students began to be admitted into the Muslim maktabs and madrsahs. The result was that within half a century there was a large number of Hindu scholars, historians and poets of Persian, and some of these excelled in rational sciences and were appointed teachers of the Persian language in the madrsahs. There was thus a secular bias imparted to education in the time of Akbar.

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[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Ain.*, Vol. I (2nd. ed.), pp. 288-89.

The education continued to flourish under Akbar's successors, and as long as the Mughal emperors were rich and powerful enough to extend patronage to educational institutions, the number of madrsahs multiplied, and some of them attained distinction as important centres of learning and culture. There is adequate evidence to show that Akbar and his nobles and successors founded madrsahs and endowed them with funds. Jahangir had made a rule that if a noble died without an heir his property should be utilised for the maintenance of madrsahs. Although no education on technical subjects, and art and crafts was provided in the maktabs and madrsahs, yet these subjects were learnt in the workshops and factories which the state had established since the days of the sultans of Delhi.

An idea of the syllabus followed in the madrsahs all over the country can be formed from an eighteenth-century course of studies called *Dars-e-Nizami.* It consisted of eleven subjects with books prescribed for each. These were : (1) Sarf (Declension and Conjugation). The books recommended were : Mizan, Munshaib, Sarf-e-Mir, Panjganj, Zubda, Fusul-e-Akbari and Shafia. (2) Nahv (grammar and syntax). The books recommended were : Nahv Mir, Sharh-e-Ma'ta, Amil, Hidayatun Nahv, Kafia, Sharh-e-Jami. (3) Mantiq (Logic). The books recommended were : Shughra, Kubra, Isaghoji Tahzib, Sharf-e-Tahzib, Qutb-e-ma Mir and Sullamut Ulma. (4) Hikmat (Philosophy). The books recommended were : Maibazi, Sadra, Shams-e-Bazigha. (5) Riazi (Mathematics). The books recommended were Khulasa-tul-Hisab, Tahrir-e-Uqlidas, Maqalaiula, Tashrihul Aflak, Risala-i-Qaush-ajia, Sharhe, Chaghamani Babe-e-Awwal. (6) Balaghat (rhetoric). The books recommended-were : Mukhtsir Maani, Mutawwal upto Maani qutlu. (7) Fiqh (Jurisprudence). The books used were : Sharh-e-waqaya Awwalin, Hidaya Akherin. (8) Usul-e-Fiqh (Principles of Jurisprudence). The books were : Nurul Anwar, Taudih-e-Talwih, Musallimas-Subut (Mabadi-e-Kalama). (9) Kalam

(Dialectic). The books were : Sharh-e-Aqaid Nasafi, Sharh-e-Aqaide Jalali Mir Zabid and Sharh-e-Mawaqif. (10) Tafsir (Exegesis). The books recommended were : Jalalain and Baizawi. (11) Hadis (traditions). The book was : Mushkat almasabih.

We are told that the following four subjects were added to the above syllabus after a few decades : (1) Adab (Literature); books : Nafhatul Yaman, Saba Muallaqa, Diwan-e-Muntannabbi, Muqamat-e-Hariri and Hamasa. (2) Faraiz (obligations); book : Sharifia. (3) Munazara (Disputation); no books recommended. (4) Usule-Hadis (Principles of Hadis).[10]

The above curriculum was laid down by one Mullah Nizam-ud-din during the early years of the 18th century and was based on an earlier curriculum in vogue since the beginning of the Muslim rule in this country. It is, however, a mistake to associate it with the Nizamiyah curriculum of Baghdad. Nizam-ud-din who died in 1748 belonged to the village of Sihali, 32 miles from Lucknow. His father Mullah Qutb-ud-din (died in 1691) was a learned teacher of fame. It was after his death that Aurangzeb allotted to Qutb-ud-din's family a spacious house known as Farangi Mahal in Lucknow. It was at Farangi Mahal that Mullah Nizam-ud-din started his career as a teacher. The course that he followed at Farangi Mahal is known as the Dars-e-Nizamiyah.[11]

Although the Dars-e-Nizamiyah curriculum has been criticised by competent Muslim teachers from time to time, it was adopted wholesale by the Darul-ulum of Deoband in the 19th century. Basically the course continues to be the foundation of Muslim theological schools in the 20th century.[12]

Although there was a common pattern as regards courses of studies and the method of teaching in almost all Muslim seminaris in the country, sometimes a higher seat of leaning specialised in one particular subject. For example, the Farangi Mahal school of Lucknow specialised in jurisprudence, the Delhi school of Shah Wali-Ullah laid stress on the Traditions and the Exegesis, and the Sialkot school specialised in grammar. Sometimes students migrated from one school to another in search of a suitable teacher. The contact between the teacher and the taught was intimate and the traditional method of teaching was handed down from generation to generation.

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[10] Vide Yusuf Hussain, *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture*, pp. 87-88.

[11] Ziya-ul-Hasan, *The Deoband School and the Demand for Pakistan*, pp. 27-28 n.

[12] *Ibid*, p. 29.

There were no annual examinations of the type we have nowadays. Students were promoted according to the opinion of the teacher. As the teacher knew his pupils intimately there was no difficulty in assessing the latters' capabilities.

The degrees awarded were Fāzil, Ālim and Qābil. A student who specialised in logic and philosophy was given the degree of Fāzil ; one who specialised in theology was given the degree of Ālim ; one who specialised in literature was awarded a degree of Qābil. A ceremony was held at the time of the awarding of the degrees.

Female education

There were no maktabs and madrsahs for girls throughout our medieval Indian history. Perhaps it was not considered desirable and necessary to educate the female section of the population. There were, however, arrangements for the education of girls of the well-to-do and royal families. We know that during the early years of the Sultanate of Delhi, Sultana Razia, daughter of Iltutmish, was given good education which included not only reading and writing, but also riding and the use of arms. This shows that private coaching of a high order was given to the daughters of rulers and nobles. Some of the wives and mothers of the sultans of Delhi played an important role in the politics of their time. Obviously they must not only have possessed native intelligence but also some kind of literary ability imparted by well-grounded education. During the Mughal age many royal ladies, notably Gulbadan Begum, were well-read scholars and authors in Persian. She tells in the Humayunnama that Akbar's mother Hamida Banu Begum, when a girl, was an educated woman of strong character. Maham Anaga, Salima Sultana Begum, Nur Jahan, Chand

Sultana and Mumtaz Mahal were well-educated women and took intelligent interest in political and cultural matters. As Monserrate writes, Akbar bestowed "great care and attention to the education of the princesses, who are kept rigorously secluded from the sight of men. They are taught to read and write, and are trained in other ways by matrons."[13] It can be presumed that this type of education of the inmates of the harem continued throughout the Mughal age. Shah Jahan's daughter Jahanara Begum was a talented poet and so was Zebunnisa, Aurangzeb's daughter. She founded a literary academy and a library. She was also a patron of scholars. We are told that she was a bibliophile and possessed a large library. It may be presumed that girls and ladies belonging to noble families were also given some kind of religious and literary education.

Hindu Education

The ancient Hindu Universities of Takhshila (Taxila), Nalanda and Vikramshila each of which was a vast centre of the highest learning and accommodated many hundreds of students and teachers, had perished on account of the onslaught of the early Muslim invaders and rulers, and their places were taken by smaller institutions. Muslim invaders destroyed Hindu seats of learning as well as Hindu temples and one of the first and most injurious results of the early Turkish rule was the decline, if not disappearance, of the ancient learning in Northern India.

There were now three types of Hindu educational institutions. These were : (1) Pathshalas or elementary schools ; (2) Tols or Colleges and (3) private-tutor schools. In the Pathshalas reading, writing and arithmetic were taught, besides, some kind of elementary religious instruction. But no definite religious book, like the Vedas or the Upanishads or the Bhagwat Gita, was prescribed. Such a thing was inevitable as Hindu religious thought was so diverse and catholic that hardly could any religious books be prescribed in an elementary school.

[13] *Commentarius*, p. 203.

Such being the case the education of Hindu children and youngmen was to a great extent free from rigorous religious control. Hindus naturally, therefore, had a freer outlook on life than the Musalmans of the medieval age. The tols or colleges were the highest seats of learning in which Sanskrit language and literature formed the chief subject of study. The curriculum consisted of Kavya (poetry), Vyakarana (grammar), Jyotish (astronomy and astrology), Chhanda (rhetoric), Nirukta (lexicon) and Nyaya Darshan (philosophy). Akbar had laid down that in Sanskrit schools one should not fail to study Vyakarana (grammar) and Nyaya (logic and law), and also learn Vedanta, Patanjali and all those branches of knowledge which were indispensable in that age. In some colleges the Puranas, the Vedas, the Philosophy of various schools of thought and medicine, astronomy, astrology, chronology, history and geography were taught. There were schools where music and Bhaktiyog, Alankar, Kosh (encyclopaedia), Tantra and Malla Vidya (art of duelling) were taught. Mukunda Ram's famous poem, called Kavikankan Chandi, gives detailed account of the subjects and books taught at a Hindu seat of learning during the Mughal age. The subjects were Shastras, Nyaya, Rakshit Panjika Tika (a commentary on the medical works by Vijaya Rakshit) and Amar Kosh (Encyclopaedia written by Amar Singh). Dandi's works, such as, Dashkumar Charitam and Kavya Darshan were also taught. Pingal which meant a work on prosody entitled Chhandsutra was an important subject of study. There were, besides, Jaimini Bharata Mitra, Kali Das's Meghaduta, Kumar Sambhava, etc., included in the course of study.

There were many centres of higher Hindu learning, and of these the most famous were Banaras, Mathura, Prayag, Ayodhya, Nadia, Mithila and Srinagar in Kashmir. Abul Fazl writes about Banaras : "From time immemorial it has been the chief seat of learning in Hindustan. Crowds of people flock to it from the most distant parts for the purpose of instruction to which they apply themselves with the most devoted assiduity." Here there were many institutions of higher learning and a large number of Brahaman teachers devoted their entire lives to the study of the Vedas, Shastras and the Puranas. They taught these subjects upto the highest classes. The famous traveller Bernier compares Banaras with Athens of ancient Greece. "The town contains no colleges or regular classes as in our universities, but resembles rather the schools of the ancients, the masters being dispersed over different parts of the town in private houses, and principally in the gardens of the suburbs, which the rich merchants permit them to occupy. Some of these masters have four disciples, others six or seven, and the most eminent may have twelve or fifteen, but this is the largest number. It is usual for the pupils to remain ten or twelve years under their respective preceptors, during which time the work of instruction proceeds, but slowly......[14]" Although Bernier failed to notice the existence of colleges, there is no doubt that there were such institutions of higher learning. For example, another famous European traveller named Tavernier, who visited Banaras in December 1665, described the working of a college established by Raja Jai Singh for the education of youths of well-to-do families.[15]

In Bengal, Nadia or Navdwip was the most celebrated centre of learning. Here there were several institutions of higher education under famous teachers. Eager students from all parts of the country went to Nadia for higher education, especially in Navya-Nyaya or the new school of Nyaya Philosophy. We are told by Vrindaban Das, who flourished in the 16th century, that Nadia was famous for its learned professors and the city was full of learned men. It is said that Vasudeva Sarvabhauma brought Tattvachintamani of Ganesha from Mithila and established an academy of Logic at Nadia at the close of the 15th century. Raghunath Siromani wrote a commentary on Tattvachintamani and became the real founder of the new school of Nyaya Philosophy at Nadia. He enjoyed great reputation as a teacher and thinker. Besides Tattvachintamani, Geeta,

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[14] Bernier's *Travels* (ed. by Constable), pp. 334, 341.

[15] Tavernier's *Travels*, Vol. II, pp. 234-35.

Bhagwat and subjects like Gyan and Bhakti, were also taught at Nadia.[16]

Throughout our period, and more particularly during the Mughal age, Mithila in North Bihar was a flourishing seat of Brahmanic learning. It is said that colleges of Navdwip derived inspiration from the teachers of Mithila in the 14th and 15th centuries. Vasudeo Sarvabhauma, the great logician of Nadia, is said to have studied at Mithila in the 12th century A.D. Abul Fazl confirms the importance of Mithila or Tirhut as a great centre of Hindu learning. In the time of Shah Jahan two Maithili Brahman scholars and poets of Hindi and Sanskrit had acquired great reputation for scholarship and poetic talent.[17]

Mathura, Vrindaban, Prayag, Ayodhya and Srinagar (Kashmir) were also reputed centres of Hindu learning, and each of these places was noted for specialisation in certain special subjects. The importance of these centres was due to the learning and reputation of their teachers. There is evidence that in the early days of our period scholars from North India travelled to Kashmir for education in some special subjects.

There were elementary schools in all towns and cities and also in large villages. These were mostly attached to temples, and some of them were private-tutor schools. Regional languages and something of Sanskrit were taught in these schools. Elementary arithmetic consisting of numerals, the rules of addition, subtraction, multiplication, etc., and what are known as *pahārās*, were compulsory in all schools. A knowledge of weights and measures was also considered essential. Students were made to write on wooden boards with chalk or liquid sand. Slate and pencil and black-board were not known in the elementary schools. Students took their seat on mats and the teacher on a stool. Cultivation of good handwriting was considered essential. Ink and paper were used in higher classes.

As has been mentioned, pathshalas or elementary schools were either attached to temples or the classes were held in a separate building provided by some rich man of the village, and sometimes even under the shade of trees. Classes were held from morning till noon and after an hour's break they met again in the afternoon. Students were allowed to go home in the evening. There were no regular fees, but the pupils were required to render personal service to the teacher and to give him occasional presents especially on festivals. When the classes began in the morning students were required to show that they remembered the previous day's lesson. Thereafter the new lesson was given. Physical punishment was inflicted on those who did not remember their lesson or on those who committed mischief and did not behave properly. The belief in those days was that to spare the rod was to spoil the child. Offending pupils were sometimes detained for an hour or so after the classes were over, and sometimes they were subjected to an agonising posture.

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[16] Vidyabhushan, *History of Indian Logic*, pp. 461-89 ; Krishna Das Kaviraj. *Chaitanya*.

[17] *Ain.*, Vol. II (1st ed.), pp. 165, 354 ; *Padshahnama*, Vol. I, pp. 268-69.

Hindus usually sent their sons to school at the age of five. The education in a primary school was of three to four years' duration for an average student. There was a close personal contact between the teacher and his pupils. The teachers took their work seriously and were as affectionate to their pupils as fathers to their sons. They sometimes provided the students with books.

There were no separate schools for girls. Sometimes boys and girls read together in the same elementary school. This shows that there was no separate curriculum for boys and girls. There does not seem to have been arrangement for the education of girls beyond the elementary stage. But well-to-do parents employed tutors to teach their daughters at home. There are examples of some very highly educated Hindu ladies during our period. Bharat Chandra in his Vindya Sundari gives the story of one Princess Vidya who was a highly educated and accomplished lady. She is said to have discussed subtle problems of philosophy and religion with her future husband. Another lady named Ichhawati was highly skilled in literature, poetry and music. Still another, named Rukmani, was a scholar of grammar, the Puranas, the Smritis, the Shastras, the

Vedas and the six Vedangas. Such examples of learned Hindu women can be multiplied. There were dancing girls and courtesans, skilled in music and dance, throughout our period. Keshav Das, the famous Hindi poet and contemporary of Akbar and Jahangir, gives the story of six talented women singers and dancers of the court of Inderjit Singh, ruler of Orchha. Similar instances of highly cultured female musicians are found in Bansi Dass's Manasmangal, in Ghan Ram Chakravarti's Dharmamangal and similar other works of the writers of the period.

Education of princes

Princes were given an all round education which was both literary and military. The Jesuit Missionary Father Monserrate gives an account of the education of Akbar's sons, who were taught not only Arabic, Persian and Hindi, but also Portuguese by highly learned tutors. An efficient arrangement was made for their military training and discipline. Manucci says that the teachers took the greatest care to prevent the princes from acquiring bad habits. They acted before them many comedies and conducted legal argumentations, and held mock courts to show how cases should be tried and judgments delivered. "They show them combats and fights and similar things, the whole with a view to their having, should they obtain rule, some knowledge of world's business, and be able to judge in every matter with discernment and without passion." Princes continued to remain under the care of their tutors, even after they had attained the age of sixteen and had married. Aurangzeb's letters throw light on the education of his sons. He gave minute directions to his eldest son, prince Muhammad, then aged 15, for the regulation of his daily life. "Whether you are in the residence or on a march," he writes, "get up from bed 72 minutes before sunrise. After spending 48 minutes in bathing and getting ready come out of your rooms for the morning prayer. After saying the prayer and reciting set passages, read one section of the Quran. Breakfast in the apartment comes next. If you are on a march, take horse 48 minutes after sunrise. The principal meal and some repose will fill your time till two hours before sunset, when the *asr* prayer should be said. But if the meal alone suffice to refresh you, spend the interval in improving your writing, composing letters or reading prose and poetry. After the *asr* prayer, read Arabic for a short time, and then some 24 minutes before sunset hold a select audience at which you should sit till 48 minutes after nightfall. Then leave the chamber and read a section of the Quran and retiring to the inner apartment go to bed at 9 P.M." He further advises Prince Muhammad in these words : "Gradually make yourself perfect in the habit of wearing arms. Let your sweat dry before you take off your coat and lie down, lest you should fall ill. At all times, whether marching or holding court speak just as many words as are necessary."[18]

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[18] Sarkar, *Studies in Aurangzib's Reign*, pp. 39-42.

9

Literature and Learning

The medieval age in India was noted for its literary activities. But most of the literature produced in Arabic and Persian was religious in character. There were hardly any original books on Muslim religion; the literature produced on this subject fell in the category of commentaries or commentaries on commentaries. The original religious literature in Persian related to the conversations or discourses of the sufi saints. In view of the copiousness of literature of this category, it is not possible to give a connected list of the works written during the Sultanate period or the Mughal age. Mr. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami has attempted to give a list of books on religion produced in India by Muslim scholars and some of those that were written outside India and were read by Indian Muslims in this country. The works are mostly on Tafsir (Exegesis), Hadis, (Traditions), Fiqh (Jurisprudence), Tasawwuf (Mysticism), Kalam (dialectic), etc. Mr. Nizami admits that there is little originality in the works produced in India during the 13th century and in fact throughout the medieval period. He adds that "the Indo-Muslim scholars of this period were by large commentators, compilers and abridgers. They have simply re-stated, summarised or annotated works prepared by the preceding generation of scholars" (outside India). Thus although there was some divergence of ideas in their works there was hardly any originality in them.

The religious attitude of the Muslims can be divided into two schools—the *Asharite* and the *Mutazalite*, the former of which was orthodox and rigid, and the latter slightly progressive. The Indian Muslims throughout the medieval age inclined towards the Asharite doctrine which was based on orthodox Islam. They were, generally speaking, opposed to the liberal tendencies based on liberal interpretation of the Mutazalite school of thought. They were even opposed to a spirit of philosophical enquiry. Hence the Islamic thought in medieval India remained static. The interest of the Indian Muslims lay mainly in mysticism, traditions of the prophet, jurisprudence and exegesis of the Quran.

Some of the works on Hadis produced by Maulana Razi-ud-din Saghani in the 13th century were : (1) Mashariqul Anwar ; (2) Risalah-fi'l-ahadis-al-Mawzuah ; (3) Durr-al-Sihabah-fee-bayan mawazi' Wafayat-al-Sahabah; (4) Kitab-fi-asma Shuyukh-al-Bokhari.

The following works on mysticism may be noted:

1. Ishqia of Qazi Hamid-ud-din Nagauri.
2. Mulhamat of Shaikh Jamal-ud-din Hanswi.
3. Diwan by the same author.
4. Fawaid-ul-Faud of Amir Hasan Sijzi.
5. Sarur-us-Sudur.
6. Miftah-ut-Talibin.

The works on traditions, jurisprudence and exegesis of the Quarn are too many to be recounted. The largest number of works produced were on Kalam.

The Turkish invaders of the early medieval age were primarily soldiers, but they were at the same time devoted to Persian language and literature, and were patrons of scholars and poets. Among the many poets and writers who accompained Mahmud of Ghazni in his Indian expeditions was the great savant Abu Rayhan Muhammad al-Biruni to whom we are indebted for a very scholarly account of the condition of India in the early years of the 11th century A.D., including Hindu religion, philosophy, history, mathematics and other sciences. He studied Sanskrit and established a close contact with Indian scholars of the age. No Muslim scholar ever rivalled al-Biruni in the depth and accuracy of his knowledge about India.

Muhammad of Ghur continued the tradition and extended patronage to scholars and poets. Persian language and literature consequently flourished under him. Taj-ud-din Hasan, Rukn-ud-din Hamza, Shihab-ud-din Muhammad Rashid, Nāzuki of Marāgha and Qazi Hamid of Balkh were some of the famous poets who adorned his court.

The Sultanate of Delhi naturally followed in the foot-steps of the Ghazanavid and Ghurid courts. Qutb-ud-din Aibak (1206-1210) was so liberal to scholars and poets that he earned the title of Lakh-bakhsh (the giver of lakhs). Iltutmish (1211-1236), was equally, if not more, generous to poets and scholars. He had a number of first-rate poets and writers of Persian at his court. Prominent among these were Khwaja Abu Nasr (whose pen name wat Nāsirī), Abu Bakr bin Muhammad Ruhani of Samarqand, Taj-ud-din Dabīr and Nur-ud-din Muhammad Awfi. The last named scholar was the author of Lubab-ul-Albab and Jawāmi-ul-Hikāyāt wa-Lawāmī-ur-Riwāyāt.

It is reasonable to assume that there must have been scholars and poets at the court of Iltutmish's immediate successors, though the period was stormy on account of the wars of succession and political instability. We know that Nāsir-ud-din Mahmud Shah(1246-1265) had some literary lights. There were, for example, the famous Fakhr-ud-din Nūnakī, poetically surnamed Amīd, and the historian Minhaj-ud-din Siraj, who first entered service under Iltutmish and continued to serve Nāsir-ud-din Mahmud. He wrote his famous chronicle, Tabaqat-i-Nāsiri, a general history from the earliest times to 1260. Ghiyas-ud-din Balban's court was a great seat of Islamic culture, not only of India, but also of Muslim countries outside India. The Mongols had devastated Central Asian countries and compelled Muslim scholars and poets from those countries to flee for refuge to Balban's court at Delhi. There were thus foremost Persian literati and poets in Delhi and the period marked a new epoch in the history of Persian literature in India. Balban's eldest son Muhammad, better known as Khan-i-Śhahīd, was a great patron of eminent poets and it was under his patronage that two of the greatest Indian poets of Persian named Amir Khusrau and Mir Hasan Dihlwi had began their poetic careers. Amir Khusrau lived to become the greatest Indian poet of Persian. He was the youngest son of Saif-ud-din Mahmud, a Turk who had migrated to India during the early years of the reign of Nāsir-ud-din Mahmud Shah. Amir Khusrau was born at Patiali in the modern Etah district of Uttar Pradesh in 1253 A.D., and at an early age displayed precocious taste for poetry. He wrote practically all forms of poetry with great success, but he was particularly successful in writing lyrics. He was a disciple of Nizam-ud-din Auliya, and had served several sultans of Delhi from Balban to Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq. He wrote, it is said, a large number of works of poetry, fiction, *masnavi* and history. Some of his important works are Khamsa, Panj Ganj, Matla-ul-Anwar, Shirin-wa-Farhad, Laila-wa-Majnun, Ain-i-Sikandri, the Hasht Bihist, Deval Rani-wa-Khizr Khan, Qiran-us-Sadain, Taj-ul-Futuh, Nuh-Sipihr, Rasail Ijaz, the Tughluq-Nama, Miftāh-ul-Futuh, the Afzal-ul-Fawaid, the Tarikh-i-Dilhi and the Khazain-ul-Futuh. Khusrau died full of age and honours in 1325.

Amir Khusrau was probably the first Indian Muslim writer to make use of Hindi words and idioms and to write on Indian themes. In his couplets and riddles (*paheliān*) we have a language which is predominently a mixture of Persian and Hindi words. In some of his *ghazals* he employed alternate hemstitches in Persian and Hindi. He was a man of wide sympathies and did not reject familiar Indian themes. In his famous *masnavi*, entitled Nuh Siphr (the nine skies), he refers to India's climate, its flowers, its animals and birds, the religious beliefs and languages of the people. He compares India to the garden of Eden and praises the fertility of its soil and temperate climate, and the Indian peacocks. Sometimes he considered India superior to other countries of the world. Khusrau was also a musician and loved Indian music which he said had a peculiar charm for him. He is said to have invented *sitar* by combining the Indian *vina* with the Persian *tambura*.

The next great Indian poet of Persian was Khwaja Najm-ud-din Hasan, who flourished during 1253-1327 and was popularly known as Mir Hasan Dihlvi. He was a contemporary and a friend of Amir Khusrau, and was one of the court poets of Ala-ud-din Khalji. He was particularly noted for his lucid and charming Persian *ghazals*, which earned him the title of the Sadi of Hindustan. Like Amir Khusrau he too was a disciple of Nizam-ud-din Aulia whose conversations he recorded in a book called Fawaid-ul-Faud. This work is of great historical value, and contains the saint's discourses in chronological order from 1307 to 1322 A.D. It is looked upon as a record of inestimable value on sufi philosophy. The poet enjoyed great reputation among his contemporaries, and the historian Barani was highly impressed by his poetic genius. He died at Daultabad in 1327.

There were some other important poets of Persian at Ala-ud-din Khalji's court, prominent among whom were Sadr-ud-din Ali, Fakhr-ud-din, Hamid-ud-din Raja, Maulana Ārif, Abdul Hakim and Shihab-ud-din Sadr-Nishin.

Muhammad bin Tughluq (1325-1351) was not only a most learned and accomplished man, but he was also a liberal patron of learning. His liberality attracted many scholars and litterateurs to his court. The historian Zia-ud-din Barani enjoyed his patronage for 17 years, and in his old age wrote Sana-i-Muhammadi, Salāt-i-Kabīr, Ināyat-Nāma-i-Ilahi, Maasir-i-Saādat and Hasrat-Nama, besides his well known historical works, named Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi and Fatawa-i-Jahandari. Zia-ud-din Barani was a disciple of Nizam-ud-din Aulia and a close friend of Amir Khusrau and Mir Hasan Dehlvi. He fell out of favour under Firoz Tughluq (1351-1388) on account of the intrigues of his enemies and spent the last years of his life in poverty. He died at a ripe old age and was buried in the enclosure of Nizam-ud-din Aulia's shrine.

Another scholar and poet at the court of Muhammad bin Tughluq who deserves mention was Badr-ud-din Muhammad of Chach (Tashqand). He lived at Delhi as a court poet for many years and composed poems in praise of his patron. His two books, viz., Diwan (which consisted of *qasidas*, *ghazals*, *qitas* and *rubais*) and Shāhnāma are well known. We have three lithographed editions of his *qasidas*, which shows their popularity in the 19th century. The historian Isami was a famous scholar of that age. His Futuh-us-Salātin is a history in verse of the Muslim rulers of India from the time of the Ghazanavids to 1349-50 A.D. He belonged to a family of government officers under the sultans of Delhi, which had migrated to the Deccan. His work seems to have been based on information supplied by his ancestors who were associated in one capacity or the other with the Ilbari sultans of Delhi. Isami does not refer to his source of information, but it seems that he did not make use of the Tabqat-i-Nāsirī or the Taj-ul-Maasir. It may be noted that the Futuh-us-Salātin is written on the model of Firdausi's Shāhnāma and was dedicated to Ala-ud-din Hasan Kangu (1347-1358).

Firoz Tughluq was a noted patron of learning and is said to have given away annually 36 lakhs of *tankas* to learned men and poets. He seems to have been quite fond of history, and wrote an account of his reign under the title of Futuhat-i-Firozshahi. This work records the edicts and ordinances issued by him and also the works of public utility carried out under his orders. His court was adorned by several scholars, prominent among whom was Shams-i-Siraj Afif (d. 1398-99). Afif's Tarikh-e-Firoz Shahi is a history of the reign of his patron in five parts, and begins where Zia-ud-din Barani's work of the same name comes to an end and covers the reign of Firoz Tughluq. Another work on the history of the reign, entitled Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi, was written by an anonymous writer, who too had received patronage at Firoz Tughluq's court.

Muhammad Bihāmad Khani was a scholar and author of eminence of the late Tughluq period. His Tarikh-i-Muhammadi is a general history from the time of prophet Muhammad to 1438-39. The author's father Bihamad Khan was in the service of Firoz Khan, the minister of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq, Shah II (1388-1389). The author resigned service as a soldier and took to the life of a hermit. It was probably then that he wrote the above book.

A notable scholar during the later Tughluq period was Yahya bin Ahmad of Sarhind. He wrote his famous Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi and dedicated it to Muizz-ud-din Mubarak Shah II (1421-1434) of the Sayyid dynasty. This is the only contemporary work on the reigns of the rulers of this dynasty.

A good deal of literary activity was manifest in the provincial kingdoms that were established on the decline of the Tughluq dynasty. In Sindh one Sayyid Muin-ul-Haq compiled a genealogical account of the Sayyids of Bhakkar and named it Manba-ul-Ansāb. The work was completed in about 1426-27 A.D. In Bihar a good lexicon, entitled Farhang-i-Ibrahimi or Sharf-nama-i-Ibrahimi, was compiled by Ibrahim Qivam Faruqi, but the name that the author gave to it was Sharf-Nama-i-Ahmad Maniari, as he was a disciple of the famous Sufi saint, Sharf-ud-din Ahmad Maniari. This work was compiled during the reign of Rukn-ud-din Barbark-Shah (1459-1474) of Bengal. In the Deccan the rulers of the Bahamani dynasty were not only great patrons of scholarship but were themselves learned. Sultan Taj-ud-din Firoz Shah (1397-1422) was skilled in astronomy and erected an unfinished observatory at Daultabad. The famous wazir of the Bahamani kingdom named Khwaja Mahmud Gawan was a scholar and poet of note and he invited the famous Persian poet Abdul Rahman Jami to the Deccan. The minister left behind him his letter-book, named Riāzs-ul-Insha, another literary composition called Manazir-ul-Insha, and a Diwan or collection of poems. Under his patronage Mullah Abdul Karim wrote a history of Gujarat entitled Maasir-i-Mahmud Shahi which is referred to in Nizam-ud-din Ahmad's Tabqat-i-Akbari.

Gujarat too witnessed a great deal of literary activity.

Fazlullah Zain-ul-Ābidin, entitled Sadar-i-Jahan, who flourished during the reign of Mahmud Begarha (1458-1511), wrote a general history covering the period from the earliest times to the 9th century A.H. In Bijapur one Mahmud Ayāz wrote a book called Miftah-us-Surur-i-Adil Shahi in about 1516 A.D. It is a work on sex and describes the peculiarities of women.

The Sayyid and Lodi periods were not devoid of literary attainment. Sikandar Lodi was a scholar and a poet of no mean merit. He wrote verses under the pen-name of Gulrukh. Many foreign scholars and poets were attracted to his court. Among these Rafi-ud-din Shirazi, a Persian scholar of eminence, deserves mention. Two other important scholars at Sikandar's court were Shaikh Abdullah Tulanbi and Shaikh Azizullah. But the most important poet of the Lodi period was Shaikh Jamal-ud-din of Delhi (Jamali-Kamboh), who was not only a good poet but was also a well-travelled man and had established contact with the celebrated Jami at Herat. He is particularly known as the author of Siyar-ul-Ārifin and Mihr-u-Māh. Jamal-ud-din called on Babar after the latter's success at Panipat in 1526 and praised him in some of his odes. Another eminent scholar of the Lodi period who witnessed the downfall of Ibrahim and the establishment of the Mughal dynasty at Delhi was Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi. But whereas Jamal-ud-din had won Babar's favour, Abdul Quddus incurrred the conqueror's displeasure an account of his support of Ibrahim Lodi.

Some useful Sanskrit works were translated into Persian during the last quarter of the 14th century and subsequent years, not because the sultans wanted to patronise Sanskrit writers and language, but because these works were useful and were concerned with practical subjects like medicine, astronomy, music and so forth. A Sanskrit work was renderd into Persian by Aziz-uddin Khālid Kirmāni and was given the name of Dalāil-i-Firoz Shahi. Another Sanskrit work on music and dancing was translated into Persian by Abdul Aziz Shams of Thaneshwar. It was during the Tughluq period that the first *masnavi* in Hindi was written. It was based on a Sanskrit original and described the story of Lorik and Chanda. It was dedicated to Jauna Khan, son of Wazir Khan-i-Jahan. In the Deccan too Muslim writers tried to derive useful knowledge from Sanskrit works. For example, Durgarāsi's Sālihotra was translated into Persian by one Abdullah bin Safi under orders from the Bahamani Sultan Ahmad Shah I (1422-1436). Another Sanskrit work of the same name was rendered into Persian during the reign of Ghiyas-ud-din (1469-1500), a Khalji king of Malwa. Both these works described various breeds of horses, their qualities, faults, their diseases and cure, etc. A Sanskrit work on medicine was translated into Persian by Miyan Bhuva and named Maadan-ush-Shifa-i-Sikandari or Tibb-i-Sikandari. This book was dedicated to Sikandar Lodi under whose patronage it was prepared.

It will thus be seen that the period of the Sultanate of Delhi (1206-1526) was one of literary activity, but the court extended patronage to Muslim scholars, who wrote in Persian, and no writer of Sanskrit or of modern Indian languages, which were gradually coming into importance, was encouraged or patronised. The Persian writers produced works of three categories, viz., historical, literary and religious. A very important contribution made by the scholars of the age was in the domain of writing history. The result was a definite source-material for a history of the Sultanate period.

The advent of the Mughals gave an added impetus to Persian literature. The Timurid rulers were themselves scholars and patrons of learning. Babar was a gifted poet of Turki and Persian as well as an accomplished writer in both these languages. His autobiography, styled the Tuzuk-i-Babari and popularly known as the Memoirs of Babar, was originally written in his mother-tongue, Turki. It was thrice translated into Persian during the reigns of Humayun and Akbar and a fourth time in the reign of Shahjahan. It has been translated into several European languages, particularly French and English. The best one in English is that by Mrs. A.S. Beveridge who translated it from the original Turki, not from the second-hand Persian version as most others have done. The work is characterised by a candour and freshness that were Babar's own. The memoirs reveal him as one intensely fond of the beauties of nature and adorned with essential human virtues and faults. They are considered to be one of "the most enthralling and romantic works in the literature of all times." Babar was also a poet both in Turki and Persian, and was the inventor of a style of poetry in Persian, called *Mubayan.* He was also a patron of scholarship. His son Humayun was equally deeply interested in literature. Many scholars flourished at his court and wrote valuable works under his patronage. A man of scholarly taste, he was well-versed in Turki and Persian literatures, philosophy, mathematics and astronomy, besides Muslim theology. There were at his court historians of the calibre of Khwandamir and Bayazid.

The reign of Akbar witnessed a cultural renaissance in medieval Indian histroy. His tolerant and benevolent policy, patronage of learning and the internal peace and prosperity which came in the wake of his successful administration, made possible the conditions in which letters and art flourish. It is, therefore, not surprising that many scholars of outstanding ability produced original literature of a high order during his reign. Persian literature of the age may be classified under two heads, viz., original composition and translations. Under the first category letters and poetry occupied the prominent place. It was a fashion in that age to leave behind oneself a collection of one's letters considered to be models of literary style. The letters of Abul Fazl and of several other writers have come down to us and are considered models of Persian style of Akbar's age. Poetry was in the medieval age the most popular vehicle of literary expression, and Muslims—both Indian and foreign—were particularly fond of it. There was a large number of poets at Akbar's court. Abul Fazl tells us that many poets had a diwan (collection of miscellaneous poems) to their credit and the Ain-i-Akbari gives the names of 59 top-most Persian poets of Akbar's court. Besides these 15 others, who were supposed to belong to the first category, had sent their composition from Persia. Abul Faizi, the poet laureate of Akbar, was the greatest poet of Persian in India since the days of Amir Khusrau. Critics hold divergent views about the value of Persian poems of Faizi and other poets. The historian V. A. Smith is of the opinion that these poets were no better than mere versifiers. Indian scholars, on the other hand, hold a high opinion about the literary production of that age. There is no doubt that the poets of the period writing in Persian, paid more attention to language than to thought, and their theme in most cases was love.

Many writers wrote commentaries of the Quran, which it is difficult to enumerate. Among the notable works of history were Abul Fazl's Akbarnama, Ain-i-Akbari, Nizam-ud-din Ahmad's Tabqat-i-Akbari ; Jauhar's Tazkirat-ul-Wāqayat ; and Gulbadan Begum's Humayun-Nama. An early work of Akbar's reign, which, though of great historical value, has been ignored by most modern writers, was Tarikh-i-Akbarshahi of Muhammad Arif Qandhari. Abbas Sarwani produced the Tuhfa-i-Akbarshahi alias Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi. Akbar ordered the compilation of a history of 1000 years of Islam, and Naqib Khan, Mullah Muhammad of Thatta and Jafar Beg were commissioned to write the work. The book with an introduction by Abul Fazl was brought out in time and became known as the Tarikh-i-Alfi. Some of the other histories written during the period were Abdul Qadir Badayuni's Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Ahmad Yadgar's Tarikh-i-Salatin Afaghana, Bayazid Sultan's Tarikh-i-Humayun, Nurul Haq's Zabdat-ul-Tawarikh, Asad Beg's Waqayat and the Akbarnama of Shaikh Allahadad Faizi Sarhindi.

Akbar had established a Translation Department which functioned under his personal supervision. This was done to bring about a fusion of Hindu and Muslim cultures and to provide a common literature to the intelligentsia of the land. Many notable works of Sanskrit, Arabic, Turki and Greek were translated into Persian, the court language which was made compulsory for all state employees to learn. Under this scheme a part of Zich-i-Jadid-i-Mirzai was translated into Persian by Amir Fathullah Shirazi. The Tajak, a well-known work of astronomy and the Tuzuk Babari were rendered into Persian. The Majmul-Buldan, an excellent work of towns and countries was translated from Arabic by Mullah Ahmad Qasim Beg, Shaikh Munawwar and others. Abul Fazl translated into Persian many outstanding Sanskrit works, such as, the Kishan Joshi, the Gangadhar, the Mahesh Mahananda and others. The Mahabharat was rendered into Persian by Naqib Khan, Abdul Qadir Badayuni and Shaikh Sultan of Thaneshwar and was named Razmnama, the book of wars. The same writers also translated the Ramayana, and Haji Ibrahim Sarhindi translated the Atharvaveda. The Lilawati, a Sanskrit treatise on mathematics was rendered into Persian by Faizi and the Rajtarangini, a Sanskrit history of Kashmir, was translated by Maulana Sheri. Abul Fazl himself translated the Panch Tantra (Anwar-i-Sahili), and Faizi the story of Nala Damayanti into Persian.

Persian literature continued to flourish under Akbar's successors. Jahangir, himself a scholar and critic, wrote his own autobiography in imitation of his great-grandfather Babar, and named it Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri. It came down to the 17th year of his reign. The work was continued under his orders by Mutamid Khan, who brought it down to the beginning of the 19th year. It reveals the daily life of Jahangir with freshness and candour barring a few incidents such as his revolt against his father, the circumstances leading to his marriage with Nur Jahan and those of Prince Khusrau's death which he glossed over. This emperor, like his ancestors, extended liberal patronage to learned men who produced works of merit. Mutamid Khan wrote Iqbal-Nama-i-Jahangiri, a primary authority for the history of the reign. Other works of history produced were Maasir-i-Jahangiri and Zubd-ut-Tawarikh. Among the notable learned men and poets, Nasiri of Nishpur, Ghiyas Beg, Naqib Khan, Mutamid Khan, Niyamat-Ullah and Abdul Haq Dehlvi were the most prominent. Commentaries on the Quran continued to be written, and poetry was produced in profusion. But the Department of Translation seems to have gone into disuse.)

Shahjahan, like his father and grandfather, continued the policy of patronising learned men and poets, prominent among whom were Abu Zalih (whose pen name was Kalim), Haji Muhammad Jan and Chandra Bhan Brahman. A good deal of historical literature was produced during his time. Abdul Hamid Lahauri, the court historian, wrote Padshah-Nama. Another scholar of repute named Aminai Qazwini, produced another Padshah-Nama. Inayat Khan wrote Shahjahan-Nama and Muhammad Salih produced Amal-i-Salih. The emperor's eldest son Dara was a scholar of outstanding merit. He was well-versed in Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit, and was the author of several works on sufi philosophy and on the biographies of Muslim saints. He translated some of the Upanishads, the Bhagwad Gita and the Yog Vashistha. His most important original work was Majm-ul-Bahrain or the Mingling of the Oceans in which he attempted to show that Hinduism and Islam were the two paths to one goal and could easily fuse into one.

Aurangzeb was a critical scholar of Muslim theology and jurisprudence, but he had no taste for poetry, and was opposed to the writing of the history of his reign. Yet several important histories were written during his time, though not with his patronage. Some of these were the Muntakhab-ul-Lubab by Khafi Khan, Alamgir-Nama by Mirza Muhammad Qazim, Maasir-i-Alamgiri by Ishwar Das Nagar, Nushkha-i-Dil Kusha by Bhim Sen, and the Khulasa-ut-Tawarikh of Sujan Rai. The most authoritative and elaborate digest of Muslim law, known as the Fatwa-i-Alamgiri, was produced by a syndicate of theologians under the orders of Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb's successors continued to patronise Persian literature until the time of Muhammad Shah (1713-1748), after which poverty and inability to express effectively in Persian, made them turn to Urdu which began gradually to take the place of Persian. Yet even in the 18th century many books, specially on sufism and history, were written in Persian by Hindus and Muslims alike, but their literary value was small. Books on history continued to be produced in Persian, first under the patronage of the rulers of the local dynasties established on the ruins of the Mughal empire, and subsequently on account of encouragement from the English

East India Company's governors and officers. Some of the important chronicles are : Sair-ul-Mutakherin by Ghulam Husain, Tarikh-i-Muzaffari by Muhammad Ali Ansari, Tawarikh-i-Chahar-i-Gulzar-i-Shujai by Hari Charan Das, Imad-us-Saadat by Ghulam Ali Naqvi, Maadan-us-Saadat by Sultan Ali Safawi, Ibrat-Nama by Khair-ud-din and Hadiqat-ul-Aqalim by Murtaza Husain Bilgrami. Histories of the court of Delhi continued to be written until the end of Shah Alam II. These are too numerous to be named.

Sanskrit

The sultans of Delhi did not patronise Sanskrit literature and none of them had any Sanskrit poet or litterateur at his court. During the latter days of the Sultanate, however, a few Sanskrit works were rendered into Persian or some matter from certain Sanskrit works was incorporated in Persian works. But all this was done not to patronise Sanskrit learning ; it was for the sake of providing to the readers of Persian useful information which was found in the Sanskrit language. Despite lack of royal patronage Sanskrit language and literature continued to flourish during the period and the adverse political condition did not materially influence their progress. But there was a little or no originality in the Sanskrit works of the age, and no contact between scholars and the common people. Most of the literature produced in this language during our period was due to the Hindu kings of Vijayanagar, Warangal, Gujarat, etc. It was partly due to the bhakti movement in Bengal and South India.

The literature covered Kavya, Natak, Champu, philosophy, dramaturgy, commentaries, etc. Most of the works were written in South India, Bengal, Mithila and Western India. The modern U.P. and Kashmir had, probably on account of Muslim domination, receded into the background.

It is not possible to give a list of Sanskrit scholars and their compositions, for they are too many to be enumerated. The names of some outstanding works, however, can be given. Mallāchārya known also as Sakalyamalla wrote the famous Udārarāghava which relates the story of the Ramayana in a highly artificial style (c. 1330 A.D.). The court poet of Pratapa-Rudradeva of Warangal, named Agastaya, produced a number of works, dealing with the story of the Mahabharat. The Rukmini-kalyāna of Vidyachakravartin III is a poem describing the marriage of Shri Krishna and Rukmini. The 15th century scholar Vamana Bhatta Bana was a versatile writer who left behind him Nalabhyudaya and Raghunath-Charitra, Lolimbarāja, Vidyapati, Vidyaranya and Vasudeva were a few out of the many writers of kavya.

Of the many historical kavyas mention may be made of the Dvitiya and Tritiya Raja-Tarangini by Jonarāja and his pupil Shrivara, Rajavati-patākā by Prajya Bhatta and Suka, Hammir Kavya by Nyaya Chandra, Gurugunaratnakara by Soma Charitaguni, Rajavinoda by Udayrāja and Prasang Ratnawali by Pattu Bhatta. Rukmini Kalyan by Vidya Chakravartin, Rajakalanirnaya by Vidyaranya and Saluvabhyudaya by Rajnath also deserve mention.

Many short poems were written on devotional subjects and on diadactics, and many a work on erotic and sandeśa was produced. The number of anthologies was quite large. The age was rich in dramatic compositions and semi-historical plays.

Although most of the Sanskrit works produced were in verse, yet prose literature was not altogether neglected. The most important works of the category of romantic tales were the Vaitāla-panchavimsati, Bharatakadvatrimsikā, Kathārnava, Purushapariksha and Bhuparikrama. Numerous works on diadactics were written by Jain scholars. There were works dealing with romances. The most important prose works, however, were on the prabandhas.

From the above account it is clear that the Sanskrit scholarship had fallen into evil days under the sultans of Delhi and also to some extent under provincial Muslim dynasties that sprang up after the downfall of the Tughluq kingdom. Another striking thing is that in the far off South India away from the control of Delhi, Sanskrit continued to flourish. In fact there was a galaxy of Sanskrit scholars, particularly commentators, like Sayana, Mallinath and Katya Vema, "who are the shining gems in the Sanskrit commentary literature." As regards literature proper, the Prabandhas and Sandesh Kavyas alone were of value. There was something also of Dharma Shastra. The Vallabh Vedanta literature was rising and some contributions and useful additions were made to grammar, poetics and music.

With the advent of the Mughals the prospects of Sanskrit learning seemed to have brightened up, but Babar and Humayun were not interested in Sanskrit and Hindi languages and literatures. Akbar was the first Mughal emperor to extend patronage to Sanskrit and many scholars and poets of this language adorned his court and received recognition at his hands. Akbar not only listened to their poems, but also discussed with them the principles of Hindu thought, religious and secular. During his reign the first Persian-Sanskrit lexicon, called Parsi Prakasha, was compiled. Abul Fazl gives the list of Sanskrit scholars at Akbar's court some of whom occupied a very high place. We have a number of valuable works written by Hindu pandits and Jain acharyas. Mahesh Thakur of Darbhanga wrote a history of Akbar's reign in Sanskrit, the manuscript copy of which is preserved in the India Office Library, London. A Jain scholar named Padma Sundar wrote Akbar-Shahi Sringar Darpan which was published in the Ganga Oriental Series of the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner. Siddhi Chandra Upadhyaya, another Jain scholar, brought out Bhanu Chandra Charitra which gives an account of Jain missions to Akbar's court. Deva Vimal was another Jain scholar who produced his Hir Saubhagyam in Sanskrit. This work, dedicated to Hir Vijaya Suri, also gives an account of the visit of Jain monks to Akbar's court and a description of Jain usages and festivals. Kripa Ras Kosh was composed by another disciple of Hir Vijaya Suri. Jahangir followed in the footsteps of his father, and employed Sanskrit poets and scholars. Although Shah Jahan was an orthodox Muslim, yet he, in pursuance of his ancestral policy, extended patronage to scholars of Sanskrit. The famous Jagannath Pandit, the author of Ras Gangadhar and Ganga Lahiri was his court poet-laureate. Kavindra Saraswati was another scholar of Sanskrit who flourished at Shah Jahan's court and was patronised by him. The court historian Abdul Hamid Lahauri gives the names of several Sanskrit poets who were received by Shah Jahan from time to time.

Aurangzeb, however, had no soft corner for Sanskrit learning and during his reign Sanskrit scholars ceased to be honoured at the Mughal court. But Sanskrit learning continued to flourish at the court of Hindu rajas. In spite of royal patronage Sanskrit literature of the Mughal period could not be called first-rate, original and inspiring work of art.

Hindi

During the Sultanate period Hindi was in a state of evolution, and had not yet become a language of literary expression. The Turkish sultans were not disposed to extend any patronage to it. Nevertheless it was gradually becoming the language of the people of Central Hindustan and wandering saints of the bhakti movement were in the course of their pilgrimages spreading it from place to place. It was during this period that Rajput heroic romances, such as, Prithvi Raj Raso, the Visal Deo Raso, the Khuman Raso, the Alha Udal Raso and some other works were composed. The language employed was western Hindi. This language was further developed by saints like Gorakhnath, Ramananda, Kabir, etc. It also received some impetus from the preaching of the sufi saints. As has been said above Amir Khusrau made use of this medium in his riddles and in his well-known Khaliq Bari, a dictionary in verse of Parsi (Persian), Arabic and Hindi. Gopal Naik, a contemporary of Khusrau, composed Dhrupad songs in the Brajbhasha dialect of Hindi and a Muhammadan sufi named Bandah Nawaz Gisu Daraz (1321-1422) wrote his Mirat-ul-Ashiqin in the Urdu form of Hindi. The Awadhi form of Hindi was a little older in origin, and Damodar Pandit, who flourished in the 12th century A.D. wrote his Ukti-Vyakti-Prakarana in this dialect. This happened 400 years before Tulsi Das. The next work in this dialect was Chandayana by a Muslim writer named Maulana Daud (1370), which describes the love story of

Lorik and the heroine Chandā. Kutban was another Muslim poet of the Awadhi dialect who composed his Mrigavati, which might be looked upon as a Rajput romance. Manjhan wrote his Madhu Malti about 1532 A.D., which though incomplete, is considered one of the best works in Hindi.

When the Mughals came to the scene Hindi was fast developing to the status of a literary language. The reign of Akbar constitutes the golden age of Hindi poetry. The influence exercised by his glorious and victorious reign, his well-known preference for Hindu thought and mode of life, together with his policy of complete religious tolerance and recognition of merit, combined with peace, both internal and external, engendered a bracing atmosphere for the development of thought and literature. The result was that many first-rate Hindi poets produced remarkable poetic works which have become classics. The most notable luminaries of Hindi were Tulsi Das, Sur Das, Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan, Ras Khan and Birbar. By universal consent of critics the first place among the poets of the age, both Hindi and Persian, belongs to Tulsi Das, who, however, was not known to Akbar personally. He spent most of his life at Banaras, and produced twentyfive works of high standard, the most well-known among them being the heroic poem Ram Charit Manas, popularly known as the Ramayana. The epic is divided into seven books, describing the life of Ram Chandra, who is looked upon by the Hindus as an incarnation of God. Tulsi's next important work is Vinaya Patrika which consists of hymns or songs of prayer. The historian Smith and Sir George Grierson (a first-rate authority on the subject) are of the opinion that the Ramayana is a masterpiece, and that Tulsi Das was a great genius. According to them Tulsi Das's style varies with his subjects, and his characters, each of whom has a well defined personality, lived and moved with all the dignity of a heroic age. According to Grierson, "Tulsi Das is the most important figure in the whole of the Indian literature," that he uses similies drawn from nature herself, and that his description is most natural. The second most important Hindi poet was Sur Das, who was even more prolific a writer than Tulsi Das. He is particularly known as the author of Sur Sagar and of many inspiring songs. No other poet of Hindi before or after him had a greater knowledge of child psychology than Sur Das. Some critics look upon him as even greater than Tulsi Das. He was attached, it is said, to Akbar's court and was popularly known as the 'blind bard of Agra.'[1] Many other Hindi poets graced Akbar's court. His reign was distinguished by the advent of Muslim poets of Hindi. In fact some Muslim poets interpreted Indian culture so successfully that if their names were to be omitted from their composition, it will be indistinguishable from that of Hindu scholars and poets. In this respect the name of Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan stands pre-eminent. Besides being a master of Persian, Arabic and Turki, he was also a first-rate scholar of Sanskrit and an excellent poet of Hindi and Rajasthani. Several hundred verses from his pen have come down to us and are given an honoured place in our poetic selections. In fact, no history of Hindi poetry can be complete without reference to the contributions of this versatile genius. He was a friend of Tulsi Das and had correspondence with him. Another Muslim poet of Hindi was Ras Khan who was a devotee of Lord Krishna and an author of a large number of first-rate poems which depict Shri Krishna's life in the woods of Vrindaban. Many other courtiers of Akbar, such as, Birbal, Man Singh, Todar Mal and others, were lovers of Hindi poetry. Akbar himself liked Hindi poetry and extended patronage to Hindi poets. He is even stated to have composed some verses in that language.[2] It is not, therefore, surprising that Hindi poetry made a remarkable progress during his reign.

The most important feature of the age was that literary activities were not confined to the court and the nobles. It was essentially a movement of the people and a large number of scholars and poets of Hindi were found in the countryside and were patronised mainly by local land-lords and well-to-do public. One has to turn to the pages of Mishra Bandhu Vinod and Ram Chandra Shukla's Hindi Sahitya ka Itihas to appreciate the spirit of the age which was responsible for the golden period of Hindi poetry.

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[1] Some modern scholars of Hindi are of the opinion that this Sur Das was not the author of Sur Sagar.

[2] A.N., Vol. I (Eng. Tr.), p. 520.

Jahangir too patronised Hindi scholars, saints and artists, such as Jadrup Gosain, Rai Manohar Lal and Bishan Das. Jahangir was so much pleased with the composition of a Hindi poet introduced to him by Raja Suraj Singh that he bestowed upon the author an elephant. It is said that a Hindi poet named Buta (Briksha Rai) was his favourite. Jahangir's brother Daniyal was a noted poet of Hindi. Shahjahan continued the tradition of his house, and as early as September, 1629, he honoured two Hindi poets from Tirhut and bestowed on each of them Rs. 1,000/- besides robes of honour. Sundar Kavi Rai, Chintamani and Kavindra Acharya adorned his court. Kavindra Acharya wrote a poem in mixed Awadhi and Brajbhasha in praise of Shah Jahan and named it Kavindra Kalpataru. Hari Nath, Shiromani Mishra and Vendanga Rai were poets of note at Shah Jahan's court. Sundar Kavi Rai was employed by the emperor on diplomatic service, and was sent to persuade Hindu rebel chiefs to submit to the Mughal emperor. Deva Kavi was another famous poet who produced many works of religious poetry, and the well-known Bihari was patronised by Mirza Raja Jai Singh. Besides these, there were Pran Nath of Pandu and Dadu of Ahmedabad, who attempted to reconcile Hinduism and Islam, wrote verses and became founders of the Pran Nathi and Dadu Panthi sects respectively. During this period Keshava Das of Orchha was a notable poet. His Kavi Priya and Alankar Manjari were considered models of poetics and prosody in that age.

Other modern Indian languages received a great impetus during the Mughal period. Rajasthani was enriched by many compositions from the pen of Charans and other writers. Prithvi Raj Rathor's poems have immortalised their author, besides popularising Rana Pratap's love of liberty, his religion and country. Many chronicles were produced, important among them being Mohta Nainsi's Khyat, Khuman Raso, Hamir

Raso, Rana Raso, and Suraj Mal's Vansh Bhaskar. Bengali language and literature recorded great progress during this period. Vaishnava religious literature dealing specially with biographies of Chaitanya, was produced by Krishna Das Kavi Raj, Brindaban Das, Janja Nand, Trilochan Das and Narhari Chakravarty. The Bhagwat Gita, the Mahabharat, and the Ramayana were translated into Bengali.

The progress of Hindi literature received a setback in the time of Aurangzeb who was not kindly disposed towards it. Nevertheless Hindi continued to flourish at the court of Hindu rajas. There were, for example, Bhushan, Mati Ram, Vrinda and some other able poets. For lack of patronage, however, Hindi poetry depreciated in the 18th century both in style and thought.

10

Urdu Language

A common spoken dialect, that emerged as a consequence of contact between the foreign Turks and other Central Asian Muslims on the one hand and the Hindus on the other during the period of the Sultanate of Delhi (1206-1526) or a little earlier, became known as Urdu or the language of the camp and the market. But it remained in a fluid condition for nearly 200 years and attained the status of a written language in the first quarter of the 14th century. It was originally called *Zaban-i-Hindawi* and subsequently Urdu. How it exactly came into existence is a matter of conjecture. Several theories have been propounded by modern scholars with regard to its orign. Muhammad Husain Azad is of the opinion that it emerged from the Brajbhasha dialect of western Hindi, when the latter came into contact with Persian which was brought into India by the Turks. A Pakistani scholar named Mahmud Sherani, on the other hand, maintains that Urdu grew out of contact between Panjabi and Sindhi on the one hand and Persian on the other. He says that it could not be western Hindi or Brajbhasha, but Panjabi that was responsible for the birth of Urdu. A third theory has recently been propounded by Dr. Masud Husain of Aligarh. He says that the spoken language of Delhi in the early days of the Sultanate was Hariani. "When

Persian was grafted on Hariani," he writes, "it resulted in the creation of the Urdu language. In course of time the Persian words and idioms were so interwoven with Hariani that the duality of the language was annihilated." These theories bear the impress of investigation and deserve careful consideration. Although Mr. Sherani's thesis cannot be lightly brushed aside, yet it seems to be an attempt to show that Urdu language is more intimately connected with Panjab, Sindh and Multan and even with the former North-Western Frontier Province of India than with Delhi, and is, therefore, not foreign at least to the Western wing of the new State of Pakistan. The theory seems to be an attempt at meeting the criticism that Pakistan has adopted a language that is not the mother-tongue of the people and is not spoken anywhere in that country. As regards the third theory it should be noted that Hariani and Khari Boli of Delhi are not radically different from each other. In fact these two dialects are for all practical purposes one and the same dialect. Moreover, the Urdu language, which was for a long time called 'Dehlavi', must have certainly been connected with the language spoken around Delhi rather than with Panjabi. It should not be forgotten that for several hundred years (i.e., from 1200 to 1700 A.D.) Urdu and western Hindi were identical. This is borne out by the language employed by Amir Khusrau and some other early sufis of India in their poems, particularly *dohas* and *gazals*, and we are told that Amir Khusrau is recognised not only one of the earliest poets of Urdu but also of Hindi. For at least three to four hundred years Hindi and Urdu had a common history and vocabulary, and their grammatical structure is even now identical. On the contrary, Urdu was never known Sindhawi or Panjabwi, Lahauri or Multani at any period of its history. It continued to be called Hindawi or Dehlavi at least upto the end of the sixteenth century. Abul Fazl calls it by the name of Dehlavi. And Delhi was admittedly an ideal place for the gradual development, if not of the birth, of the eclectic dialect that eventually became known as Urdu. It was the meeting place of foreign Muslim races from the

North-West and of the Hindus of at least Central and North-Western India. It was in this region that the first book of Hindi, viz., Prithvi Raj Raso of Chand Bardai was written. This book contains words not only of Khari Boli, Hariani, Brajbhasha and Rajasthani, but also of Arabic and Persian origin. These words seem to have entered into the vocabulary of the literati of this region. It must have taken quite a long time, at least 100 years, for the new common language of Delhi to have become a fit vehicle of expression by the time of Amir Khusrau, who used it with a facility and grace that were surprising. Upto the sixteenth century this language used by Amir Khusrau and the succeeding writers was claimed to be Hindi by the scholars of Hindi, and Urdu by the scholars of Urdu. No Panjabi or Sindhi writer has ever claimed it to have been Panjabi or Sindhi.

Doubt has been expressed in recent years whether it was Amir Khusrau the celebrated poet of Persian and author of numerous *masnavis* and historical works in that language who made use of Hindi words and expressions and wrote Hindi couplets and riddles. But in view of what Amir Khusrau has himself written in the introduction to his famous diwan, entitled Ghurrat-ul-Kamal, there should be no room for any doubt regarding his authorship of Hindi couplets, much less about his using Hindi words and expressions in his poetry. Amir Khusrau was a man of genius and was proud to have been of Indian origin. He says : "I am an Indian Turk and can reply to you in Hindawi. I have no Egyptian sugar to talk of Arabic." (Vide Khusrau's Introduction to Ghurrat-ul-Kamal). He again says : "As I am a parrot of India, ask me something in Hindawi that I may talk sweetly." In the Introduction of his third diwan Khusrau writes : "I have scattered among my friends a few chapters of Hindawi poetry also........"

Besides Amir Khusrau's own avowal regarding his authorship of Hindi poetry, it has been traditionally believed through the ages that he was one of the first, if not absolutely the first, Muslim poet to have made use of Hindi words and expressions.

The early Hindu scholars of Hindi language and literature have almost invariably held this view. Muslim writers too have been of the same opinion. As late as the first decade of the 17th century Muslim scholars ascribed Hindi poetry to Khusrau. For example, Taqi Auhadi, the author of Arafat-ul-Ashiqin, who visited the court of Jahangir in 1606 refers to Khusrau's Hindi poetry. In his Nikatush-Shura, the famous Urdu poet Mir Taqi Mir says that Amir Khusrau's Hindi songs were very popular in Delhi during his (Taqi's) time. Tradition says that on the death of his spiritual preceptor, Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Aulia, Amir Khusrau recited at his grave the following Hindi verse :

Gori sowe Saij par,
Mukh par dāle kesh,
Chal Khusrau Ghar āpne,
Rain bhaī chahun desh.

(The fair one sleeps on the bed with the tresses scattered on his face. O Khusrau ! come home now, for night has fallen all over the world.)

Amir Khusrau set the example of writing mixed poetry in which he employed alternate hemstitches in Persian and Hindi. The following is an example of this kind :

Shahane hijran daraz chun zulf, O, ruze waslat cho umr kotah.

Sakhi piya ko jo main na dekhun to kaise katun andheri ratiyān.

Gujri to kedar husno latafat cho mahi,
In dege dahi bar sare, to chatre shahi,
Az har do labat shahd O, Shakar mi rezad,
Hargah ke gui ke dahi leho dahi.

During the 13th and 14th centuries Muslim sufis who were keen to spread Islam among the Indian people, particularly those of the lower orders of the society, deliberately adopted the language of the common people in their discourses. This language in the 13th and 14th centuries was Zaban-i-Hindawi, and was spoken in Delhi and the surrounding districts. Writers of Hindi called this language Hindi and modern writers of

Urdu have called it Urdu. The only thing to differentiate them was their script. Muslims used Persian script, whereas the Hindus employed the Devanagri script. Amir Khusrau writes in his Nuh-Siphr : "Now in India every province has a peculiar dialect of its own. There is, for instance, Sindhi, Lahauri, Kashmiri, Kanaree, Dhur-Samudri, Tilandi, Gujari, Mabari, Gauri, Bengali and Awadhi, but in Delhi and all around it, the current language is the same Hindawi that has been in use in India from ancient times, and has been used for all forms of speech." Khusrau adopted this language (Hindawi) as the medium of some of his poetic compositions. Whenever a writer made a preponderating use of Sanskrit words and expressions, this particular language became known as Hindi ; but when words and phrases of Persian and Arabic origin preponderated the language became Urdu. Amir Khusrau and the sufi saints used both Hindi and Urdu, as it suited them and their audiences. The sufis had realised that it was futile to preach Islam through Persian which the people of India, particularly the masses, could not understand. That was why most of the sufis used Hindawi words in their conversation with their disciples. It is said that Shaikh Farid-ud-din Ganj Shakar collected Hindawi words for *Ẓikr* ; i.e., repetition of God's name. Many a Muslim mystic rendered into this mixed language some popular *apabhransa* works of love and romance. Notable among these works are Mullah Daud's Chandāyan (written under the patronage of Juna Shah Khan-i-Jahan, son of the famous Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul prime minister of Firoz Tughluq, in the last quarter of the 14th century), Kuthan's Mrigāwati (c. 15th century), Manjhan's Madhu-Mālati, and Malik Muhammad Jaisi's Padmāwat, all of which were written in the Hindi speaking area now called Uttar Pradesh. Some of these works were recited by the sufis and quoted in the course of their sermons to the people. In this way they attracted Hindu audiences. Very often they collected touching *dohās* in this language to produce effect and to attract their listeners. For example, a sufi mystic named Shah Bu Ali Qalandar is reported to have composed the following attractive *dohā* which was often recited by him and other mystics :

> Sajan sakāre jāinge aur nain marange roe,
> Bidhna aisi kijiyo, ki bhor kabahu na hoe.

The saints of the bhakti movement also contributed greatly to the evolution of Hindi-Urdu language. Like the sufis they made use of this language as the medium of their expression. They preached to the masses through this common medium and not through Sanskrit which could not be followed by the common people.

In course of time there was a bifurcation of Urdu and Hindi. Muslim writers and poets began gradually making use of more and more of Persian and Arabic words and Persian forms and themes with the result that Urdu emerged after nearly 300 years of its common existence with Hindi into a separate language. Nevertheless Urdu was not at all patronised by the sultans of Delhi throughout the Sultanate period (1206-1526). Nor was this language patronised by the Mughals until the time of emperor Muhammad Shah (1718-1748). Persian was the court language throughout the medieval age in this country, and therefore, it was the language of culture and scholarly intercourse. But Indian Muslims could not retain Persian as their mother-tongue and by the early years of the 18th century they began speaking zaban-i-Hindawi in their homes and at their courts. This linguistic difficulty of the Muslims became responsible for the emergence of Urdu as their literary language. From spoken language, it became gradually a written language and the language of culture.

Urdu poetry known as Rekhta received its first recognition from the Muslim sultans of the Deccan, particularly from those of Golkunda and Bijapur. The Qutb Shahi sultans of Golkunda not only patronised Urdu poetry, but themselves composed poems in that language. Muhammad Qutb Shah and Abdullah Qutb Shah wrote poetry in Deccani style. The Adil Shahi sultans of Bijapur too were patrons of poets. Ibrahim Adil Shah II made the Deccani Urdu his court language in place of Persian.

Urdu received recognition in Delhi at the court of Muhammad Shah about the middle of the 18th century. Emperor Muhammad Shah (1718-1748) was the first Mughal ruler to encourage it by inviting the famous Deccani poet, Shams-ud-din Wali (1669-1744), to give a recitation of his poems at his court. Wali paid a visit to Delhi in 1722. This was Wali's second visit to the capital. During his first visit in 1700 he was advised by his spiritual preceptor Shah Sadullah Gulshan to introduce Persian style and themes into his poems. He was also advised to make use of Delhi idiom in place of the Deccani idiom which he had so far followed. This gave a turn to Urdu which now became very much different from Hindi. Wali's example was followed by a number of Muslim scholars who wrote Urdu poetry full of Persian and Arabic words and imagery and on a variety of foreign subjects. Abru, Hatim, Naji, Mazmun and Mazhar were the earliest Urdu poets of Delhi who flourished in the second and third quarters of the 18th century. These poets made a preponderating use of Persian expressions and modelled their compositions after those of Persian. Thus from the middle of the 18th century Urdu began to follow the Persian poetic form and convention. The next generation of Urdu poets, like Mir Taqi Mir, Khwaja Mir Dard, Sauda, Soz, Masahafi and Insha gave a new turn to the Urdu poetry. These poets refined and polished the Urdu language and greatly enriched its vocabulary. They tried to weed out Hindi and Sanskrit words by following what is known as the policy of '*matrook*'. Urdu became important after it was raised to the status of a court language by the English East India Company in the second quarter of the 19th century.

II

Architecture of the Sultanate Period

(1206-1526)

The Muslim rulers of India, whether the sultans of Delhi or the Mughal emperors, were great builders. By the time of Turkish conquest of our country the various races of Central Asia had developed a style of architecture which was the result of the fusion of indigenous styles of architecture of Trans-Oxiana, Iran, Afghanistan, Iraq, Egypt, Northern Africa and the countries of South-Western Europe on the one hand, and the Muslim Arabia on the other. Some of the fundamental architectural forms of the Iranian architecture, like the pointed and trefoil arches, the transverse vault, the octagonal form of the building, the dome, etc., had their birth in India, but these were developed to perfection in Iran.[1] Thus there was a considerable Indian share in the composite style of Central Asia which is miscalled Saracenic or Islamic art. This architecture brought to India by our Turkish conquerors in the last decade of the 12th century, was neither exclusively Muslim nor even wholly Arabian. The distinctive features of this imported architecture were : (1) the dome, (2) the lofty towers or minarets, (3) the arch, and (4) the vault. But the Turkish invader found a highly developed indigenous style of architecture in India which was erected on the principle of beam and bracket and was characterised by (1) flat roofs, (2) corbel brackets, (3) tapering domes, (4) arches built on cantilever principle, (5) wide eaves and (6) narrow columns, pillars and pilasters. Nevertheless, being conquerors, the Muslims naturally introduced in the country their own ideas and forms and also their method of construction of buildings. But they did not succeed in erecting buildings that could be exact copies of their prototype in Central Asia. Their buildings were greatly influenced by indigenous art traditions, and hence the new architecture that emerged was neither completely foreign nor purely Indian. The amalgamation of the foreign and the indigenous architectural styles was made possible by certain factors. Firstly, our foreign rulers had to employ Indian architects, craftsmen and stone-cutters, who had their own clear ideas about the form and method of construction, which they and their forefathers had practised for centuries in the past, and, therefore, they unconsciously introduced into Muslim buildings many decorative and architectural details that had been in vogue in this country for a long time in the past. Secondly, the early conquerors almost invariably built their mosques, palaces and even tombs out of the materials of Hindu and Jain temples which they had callously destroyed. Thirdly, notwithstanding the striking contrasts between the Muslim and the Hindu styles, their buildings resemble in some particulars, and, therefore, the Turkish sultans sometimes converted the Hindu and Jain temples into mosques by demolishing flat roofs and erecting domes and minarets in their places. In the words of Sir John Marshall one feature common to Hindu temples and Muslim mosques was "the open court encompassed by chambers of colonnades, and such temples as were built on this plan, naturally lent themselves to conversion into mosques and would be the first to be adapted for that purpose by the conquerors. Again, a fundamental characteristic that supplied a common link between the two styles was the fact that both Islamic and Hindu arts were inherently decorative. Ornament was as vital to the one as to the other ; both were dependent on it for their very being." On account of these circumstances the indigenous Hindu art continued to exert influence upon the Muslim architectural style, and this influence lasted not only during the period of the sultans of Delhi, but also throughout the Mughal period and "expressed itself in the narrow columns, pilasters, corbel brackets and other ornamental features of Mughal buildings."

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[1] Arthus Upham Pope, *Some Inter-relations between Persian and Indian Architecture*, Indian Arts and Letters, Vol. IX (1935) ; *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 661.

The sultans of Delhi, moreover, adopted two of the most vital features of the Hindu architecture, viz., the qualities of strength and grace, which were peculiar to India and were not found in the same measure in any other country in the world. The Muslims made use of concrete and mortar on a lavish scale, and were, therefore, able to span wide spaces of their arches and domes and to produce grandeur and spaciousness which were unknown to the Hindu architect of the pre-Muslim days. The result of the impact of the two styles was the birth of a new system of architecture, which may be called Indo-Islamic or Indo-Muslim architecture.

The Indo-Muslim architecture consisting of new forms, features and decorative ideals, may be divided, broadly speaking, into two distinct phases. During the first phase it covered the period of the Sultanate of Delhi from 1206 to 1526. Its second phase was marked by the Mughal period, 1526-1803. During the Sultanate period, we had first of all the Delhi style. It was followed by what may be called the Provincial styles, which came into existence on the establishment of Provincial dynasties consequent on the decline and fall of the Sultanate of Delhi. These provincial styles differed from one another in some details. But basically they resembled one another and also their parent style of Delhi.

The Delhi style : Buildings of the Mamlak sultans

The first architectural construction erected by Qutb-ud-din Aibak (1206-1210) was the famous Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque at Qila-i-Rai Pithaura in Delhi to commemorate the capture of that city. It was begun in 1195 and finished in 1199. It was built on the plinth of a Hindu temple and out of the materials of 27 Hindu and Jain shrines, which were demolished by the invader. Most of the columns, shafts and capitals of this mosque were originally parts of Hindu temples and were hurriedly adapted to the needs of a Muslim house of prayer. The images and carvings on the columns, shafts and capitals were either defaced or concealed by being turned upside down. The mosque consisted of a quadrangular court encompassed by colonnades. Its western part formed the prayer chamber. It had gateways erected on the other three sides. Of these the one on the east formed the domed entrance. The Islamic features of this building consisted in a screen in front with Muslim designs and ornaments and a calligraphic reproduction of the Quranic texts. The columns, the architraves, the ceilings, etc. were richly carved. Though un-Islamic in many details, the building was an impressive construction. Subsequent sultans made some additions and modifications to the mosque. Iltutmish enlarged the quadrangle and made it more than double in size (1230). The additions made by him were more Islamic than Indian. Ala-ud-din Khalji (1296-1316) added to the prayer chamber of the mosque by throwing a wing towards the north. He added to the enclosure on the east and the north. He laid the foundation of a minar to rival the Qutb Minar, but on account of his death the project could not be completed.

The next important building is the Qutb Minar which was originally intended to be a place for the *muazzin* to call the 'faithful' to prayer ; but later on it became a tower of victory. The Qutb Minar was planned by Aibak, a little before 1197, when he was viceroy of Northern India on behalf of Muhammad of Ghur. But he could build only upto the first storey, and the building was finally completed by Iltutmish (1211-1236). The Qutb Minar was originally 225 feet in height, tapering as it went up, and consisted of four storeys. It is essentially Islamic in form and design.

The Qutb Minar was struck by lightning and its fourth storey was damaged ; but Firoz Tughluq (1351-1388) replaced the upper storey by two smaller ones and raised the height of the tower to 240 ft. Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517) also carried out some repairs in its upper storey.

Some scholars are of opinion that the Qutb Minar is of Hindu origin, and that Muslims only recarved its outer surface. This view is based on the presence of Devanagri inscriptions on the tower. But the stones bearing these inscriptions might have come from some other and older buildings. Sir John Marshall is of the opinion that "the whole conception of the minar and almost every detail of its construction and decoration is essentially Islamic. Towers of this kind are unknown to the Indians, but to the Muhammadans they had long been familiar, whether as *ma'zinas* attached to mosques or as free-standing towers like those at Ghazni." The minar is an impressive structure. In the words of Marshall, "nothing, certainly, could be more imposing or more fittingly symolic of Muslim power than this stern and stupendous fabric ; nor can anything be more exquisite than its rich and restrained carvings."

The next Turkish building, erected at Ajmer, is also a mosque. It is known as Adhai Din ka Jhonpara. This too was built by Qutb-ud-din Aibak. The building was originally a Sanskrit college and temple erected by the great emperor Vigraharaja Visaldeva. Qutb-ud-din had the upper part of this building demolished and domes and arches erected. This building resembles the Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque in style as well as in construction. But Adhai Din ka Jhonpara is more spacious and dignified, and is a better organised composition. Its quadrangle is surrounded by a single aisle, and its domes and pillars and colonnades are uniform and symmetrical in arrangement. The Hindu origin of the materials out of which it was erected and of the building itself is attested by the presence of countless human figures on the pillars and even on the grave-stone slabs inside the enclosure with defaced faces and hands and feet. The present writer saw the defaced human figures on pillars and grave-stone slabs more than once in 1927 and subsequent years upto 1934. But during his visit in 1959, he found these missing except on pillars.

One of the earliest Muslim tombs erected at Malkapur, about three miles from the Qutb Minar, is the mausoleum of Iltutmish's eldest son, Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, called Sultan Ghāri. It was built by Iltutmish in 1231-32 A.D. Its central chamber is octagonal in shape and its top is risen above the level of the court. There is a massive portal on the east projecting beyond the line of the enclosure-wall. The wall itself has four bastions at the four corners. "The building is almost wholly Hindu and its pillars, capitals, architraves and most of the decorative motifs are purely Hindu, and though arches and domes figure prominently in its design, they are constructed, like all the arches and domes of this period, on the Hindu corbel principle."

The next notable building of the early Sultanate period is the red sand-stone tomb of Iltutmish which stands behind the northern range of that sultan's extension of the Qutb mosque. It is a single compact chamber with arched entrances on three sides, and a *mehrab* flanked by two small arched entrances on the west. The building is considered to be one of the most ornate monuments of the early Sultanate period. The surface of the interior wall of the monument was profusely carved with calligraphic inscriptions and with floral arabesques and many kinds of geometric patterns. The effect produced is a sense of over-doing, vacillation and even lifelessness.

Certain other important buildings are ascribed to this ruler. Prominent among these are Hauz-i-Shamsi, the Shamsi Idgah, the Jami Masjid of Badaun and the Atarkin ka Darwāza at Nagaur.

There was a lull in the building activity after the death of Iltutmish, probably on account of political confusion, and, therefore, no building of note was erected upto the reign of Balban. A striking building after the period of confusion is the tomb of Balban, now in ruins. It is situated to the south-east of the Qila-i-Rai Pithaura. It is a square chamber covered by a dome, having doorways on all sides. There are smaller chambers to the east and the west. The importance of this building lies in the fact that its arches are built on the pattern of radiating voussoirs.

The Khalji monuments

With the accession of Ala-ud-din Khalji the Indo-Muslim style of Delhi takes a new turn. He was an ambitious builder and his scheme included an extensive mosque and a huge minar in the Qutb area. But this scheme did not materialise on account of his death. Nevertheless his Alai Darwaza "which is one of the most treasure-gems of Islamic architecture," was completed in 1310-11 A.D. This building consists of a square hall covered by a dome, with arched doorways on each of its four sides. Though the building is of red sand-stone, its surface is picked out by white marble defining the architectural lineaments and enriched by calligraphic inscriptions and decorative patterns. Its planning, design and execution together with its artistic decoration make the Alai Darwaza a splendid monument. This darwaza was only a part of Ala-ud-din's ambitious architectural project, which, if completed, would have been one of the grandest architectural achievements of the Muslim rule in India.

Ala-ud-din built the new city of Siri, which became the second of the seven cities of Delhi. This city was situated to the north of the Qutb area and its foundation was laid in 1303 A.D. Here Ala-ud-din erected a palace known as The Palace of Thousand Pillars. The palace has now completely disappeared, and the city of Siri is in ruins. "But even these few remnants, with their round and tapering bastions, their lines of loopholes, their flame-shaped battlements inscribed with the *kalima* and their inner berm supported on an arched gallery," give an idea of the grand architecture of this Khalji monarch. Ala-ud-din excavated an extensive tank known as Hauz-i-Alai or Hauz-i-Khas, which covered an area of nearly 70 acres and was situated on the western extremity of the city of Siri. Besides these works, Ala-ud-din built a fine mosque known as the

Jamait Khana mosque within the enclosure of Nizam-ud-din Aulia's shrine. This mosque is said to be the earliest example of a mosque in India built wholly in conformity with Muslim ideas. Alai Darwaza and Jamait Khana mosque are basically built after the same pattern, and show a preponderance of Muslim architectural ideas. Ala-ud-din's successor Qutb-ud-din Mubarak built a mosque at Bayana, which is known as Ukha Masjid, and which indicates the disintegration of the high water mark of the style of Ala-ud-din Khalji.

Tughluq buildings

With the rise of the Tughluqs there was a distinct change in the spirit and tone of architecture. The change was from the elaborate ornamentation and luxurious splendour to one of Islamic simplicity and austerity. The desire to avoid ornamentation and richness in details might have been at first due to need for economy and to religious puritanism of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq. It might as well have been due to reaction from the excesses of the Khalji regime, particularly to the revolting vices of Qutb-ud-din Mubarak (1316-1320). But there were other reasons for the change. Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq and his successors Muhammad bin Tughluq and Firoz Tughluq were pious and orthodox Sunni Musalmans, and were, therefore, naturally interested in orthodox and austere religious architecture. Moreover, the Tughluqs were poorer than the Khaljis, and did not have to squander money on their architectural plans. Sir John Marshall suggests yet another cause, viz., the decay of skilled craftsmanship under Muhammad bin Tughluq when the people of Delhi were forcibly transferred to Daultabad, leaving the capital more or less desolate. Skilled craftsmen and artisans must have suffered greatly. The result was that the buildings of the Tughluqs looked less elegant and artistic than those of the Khaljis.

Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq (1321-1325) left two buildings of importance. These were the city of Tughluqabad and his own mausoleum. Tughluqabad stood to the east of the Qutb area and was the third of the seven cities of Delhi. We are told by Ibn Batuta that the great palace of Ghiyas-ud-din was built "of golden bricks, which when the sun rose, shone so dazzlingly that no one could gaze at it steadily." The entire city and the palace are in ruins. But their remains show how magnificent they must have been. "Few strongholds of antiquity," writes Sir John Marshall, "are more imposing in their ruin than Tughluqabad. Its cyclopean walls, towering grey and sombre, above the smiling landscape, colossal, splayed-out bastions ; frowning battlements ; tiers on tiers of narrow loopholes, steep entrance-ways ; and lofty narrow portals ; all these contribute to produce an impression of unassailable strength and melancholy grandeur. Within the walls all is now desolation, but, amid the labyrinth of ruined streets and buildings, the precincts of the Royal Palace, once roofed with tiles of glittering gilt are still discernible ; and so too is the citadel rising high above the rest of the town and protected by its own double or triple lines of defence." Marshall opines that the city and the palace of Tughluqabad must have been built in a hurry and with poor material, and that is why they did not endure for long.

The mausoleum of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq was built beneath the walls of the city with which it was joined by an elevated causeway. The mausoleum is a miniature fortress of an irregular pentagonal shape. It is built of red sand-stone with inlays of bands and panels of marble above the arch-springs. It is enclosed by a battlemented sloping wall with a massive bastion at each corner. The mausoleum is surmounted by a huge dome built entirely of marble. "The effect of this treatment and particularly of the glistening expanse of white dome," writes Marshall, "is to impart a certain lightness and diversity to the structure ; but the impression nevertheless conveyed by its battering walls and sturdy proportions is essentially one of simplicity and strength." Marshall points out some defects in the mausoleum's design, such as the sloping pilasters, unduly small merlons and the crudely disposed panels and bands of marble, but these do not detract from its grandeur. "Assuredly," he writes, "no resting-place could have been devised more befitting the stern warrior who founded the Tughluq dynasty."

Muhammad bin Tughluq initiated a number of building projects. He founded the small fortress of Adilabad adjoining the city of Tughluqabad. He built Jahanpanah, the fourth city of Delhi, by linking the first and the second cities by walls of huge thickness. These were, however, built of poor material, for all of them have almost disappeared. The remains of only two buildings, viz., the Sathpalah Bund and the Bijai Mandal, are extant. There is a tomb near the Bijai Mandal, which is an excellent production of the Tughluq period. Muhammad bin Tughluq must also have added to the buildings of Daultabad in the Deccan to which he had transferred his capital.

Firoz Tughluq, the next ruler of the dynasty, was a great builder. He erected numerous works of public utility, such as cities, forts, palaces, mosques, canals and tombs. He was responsible for building the fifth city of Delhi, called Firozabad, which lay between the ridge on the north and the Hauz-i-Khas on the south. In this city he built a palace-fort, now called Kotla Firoz Shah and in ruins. This city had nine mosques (eight of which were public), three palaces and a number of hunting boxes. The palace-fortress was situated on an extensive plain bordering the river Yamuna and covered an area of half a mile in length and a quarter mile in breadth. The whole structure was built of cheap masonry of rubble and plaster and had bare walls, multiplicity of small domes, squinch arches and battlemented parapets. Marshall writes : "The virtues of this architecture reside in its vigour and straightforwardness ; in its simple broad effects ; and in the purposefulness with which it evolved new structural features or adapted old ones to its needs—the multi-domed roofing, for example, or the tapering minaret-like buttresses at the quoins. Its faults are seen in the monotonous reiteration of these self-same features, in the prosaic nakedness of its ideas, and in the dearth of everything that might make for picturesque charm or elegance."

Firoz built a stately college on the bank of the Hauz Khas.

It was built on the remains of an older structure of Ala-ud-din Khalji and occupied the southern and eastern sides of the lake. It was a two-storeyed building, and had an elegant appearance.

Another important building of Firoz Tughluq is his own mausoleum. It is a square structure, surrounded by battering walls, and surmounted by a single dome, raised on an octagonal drum. "Its marble and sand-stone cornice, battlements adorned with floral reliefs, and coloured plaster decorations of the interior, are parts of the repairs executed by Sultan Sikandar Lodi at the beginning of the 16th century, but even without these later embellishments its simple dignity and unpretentiousness must always have commanded admiration."

Khan-i-Jahan Tilangani's mausoleum, situated to the south of Nizam-ud-din Aulia's shrine and built by his son Khan-i-Jahan Jauna Shah in 1370-71, is an important monument of the Tughluq period. Unlike other tombs of that age which are square in form, this mausoleum is octagonal in shape, is surmounted by a single dome and is encompassed by a low arched verandah. It is said that this tomb resembles that of the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem. A modern art critic has rejected the theory that its design might have been borrowed from the monument at Jerusalem. Tilangani's tomb has its own individuality in architectural treatment and in the use of different materials. It is suggested that the style was independently evolved in India and that was why, being in an experimental stage, it suffered from certain serious drawbacks. These defects are its low and squat domes and stunted arches and the lack of proportions and harmonious integration of its different parts. Jauna Shah, the builder of this mausoleum, was also responsible for several other buildings, particularly mosques. The most important of these are Kali Masjid near the Tilangani tomb and the Khirki Masjid at Jahanpanah. The Kalan Masjid is also attributed to Jauna Shah.

One more building of the Tughluq period that deserves notice is the tomb of Kabir-ud-din Auliya, which is known popularly as the Lal Gumbad. It was built during the reign of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Shah (1389-1392). It is a copy of the tomb of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq. But it is something more than a mere slavish imitation and illustrates a movement for a revival of the more colourful style of the Khalji period.

Buildings of the Sayyid and Lodi periods

The invasion of Timur dealt the death-blow to the Sultanate of Delhi, whose rulers were reduced poor and helpless, and, therefore, incapable of undertaking large-scale architectural projects. Nevertheless the first two rulers of the Sayyid dynasty founded two cities, viz., Khizrabad and Mubarakabad. But these were built of cheap and poor materials, and, therefore, they could not stand the ravages of time. The only monuments of this period that survived the fall of the two dynasties are tombs. These can be divided into two groups, one of which was built after the octagonal design of the Tilangani mausoleum and the other was orthodox square type. The octagonal type retained its popularity for nearly 200 years. The important mausoleums of this type during this period are the tombs of Mubarak Shah Sayyid, Muhammad Shah Sayyid and Sikandar Lodi. The tomb of Mubarak Shah is an improvement upon that of the Tilangani. "An appearance of greater elevation is imparted by raising the central tomb substantially higher, by increasing the height of the surrounding corridor, and by adding sloping piers at its quoins. Further, the monotony of the upper part of the composition is relieved by the addition of pinnacles (*gul-dastās*) at the angles of the drum and of eight-pillared kiosks, one on each side of the octagon around the central dome, roofed by a cupola." But the improvement was in the stage of experiment and the builders failed to raise the upper part of the structure far above the eye-level and making it more graceful.

Muhammad Shah Sayyid's tomb registered a further improvement, and removed some of the defects of its two predecessors. The monument represents a conception, "satisfying in all its parts, well-proportioned, pleasantly set out, and fulfilling all its needs."

Sikandar Lodi's mausoleum was built in 1517, after the design of Muhammad Shah Sayyid's tomb, with one notable difference, viz., the absence of pillared kiosks surrounding the central dome. It is enclosed by a battlemented wall, with bastioned towers at the four corners, and has an entrance gateway in the middle of the south side. It is characterised by the use of enamelled tiles for emphasizing its decorative effect. It is also distinguished by the use made in it of the double-dome, with a view to maintain the symmetry between the interior and exterior dimensions. The dome consisted of two separate shells of masonry, inner and outer, with a vacant space in between. Thus Sikandar Lodi's tomb is remarkable in two respects—the use of double dome, and the spacious and quasi-ornamental character of its walled enclosure, which occupies a much larger space than in the tombs of the Tughluq period. In both these respects it paved the way for the mausoleum of the Mughal period.

The tombs of the second category, viz., of square design are quite large in number. The most important tombs of this class are : Bara Khan ka Gumbad, Chhote Khan ka Gumbad, Bara Gumbad, Shish Gumbad, the tomb of Shihab-ud-din Taj Khan, Dādi ka Gumbad and Poli ka Gumbad, most of these being erected in the 15th century. These tombs are, generally speaking, higher than those of the octagonal kind, but taken horizontally, their dimensions are lesser. Each of these tombs consists of a square solid-looking building surmounted by a dome with a band of lotus petal ornament at the base, and raised on an octagonal drum with a pillared kiosk on its four sides. This group lacks the solemn dignity of the octagonal tombs.

Of the mosques built during this period the most notable is the Moth ki Masjid which was built by Sikandar Lodi's prime minister in the early years of the 16th century. It is a large building and is particularly noteworthy in regard to its facade, which has five arched openings of which the central one is emphasized by having it boldly projected forward. The domes of the mosques have a pleasant appearance and the tapering turrets on the back wall have refined contour. There are two-storeyed towers at the rear corners, each flanked by a projecting balcony which impart charm to the building as a whole. In the words of Sir John Marshall, the Moth ki Masjid "epitomises in itself all that is best in the architecture of the Lodis," and indicates a "freedom of imagination, a bold diversity of design, an appreciation of contrasting light and shade and a sense of harmony in line and colour, which combine to make it one of the most spirited and picturesque building of its kind in the whole range of Islamic art."

Provincial Styles

Multan

Multan was one of the earliest cities to be occupied by the invading Arabs. It remained successively under the Arabs, the Carmathians, the Ghaznavids and again under the Carmathians, and then under Ghurids. It was finally annexed by Iltutmish and from that time it remained under Delhi. It became independent in 1457 under the Langahs. A mosque was built in Multan as early as 712 A.D. by Muhammad bin Qasim. In 985 A.D. the celebrated temple of Aditya, the Sun God, was demolished by the Carmathians and a mosque was built on its ruins. But these monuments have disappeared. A few tombs of the pre-Mughal days are extant. Of these those of Baha-ul-Haqq and Shams-ud-din are of some value, although these have been renovated and are no longer what they were when constructed. The tomb of Rukn-i-Alam built between 1320 and 1324, "is one of the most splendid memorials ever erected in honour of the dead." It is octagonal in shape and is characterised by superb surface decorations. Sir John Marshall considers it superior to the tombs of the Saiyyids, the Lodis and even of Sher Shah in the matter of surface ornament and of brilliant colour effect.

Bengal

Although Bengal was so rich and her artists possessed an inborn sense of art and adaptability of character, yet the local sultans did not succeed in developing a first-rate style of architecture. Their buildings were largely made of bricks, and stone was very sparingly used. The Bengal architecture was characterised by "the use of pointed arches on short-pillars and the Muslim's adaptation of the traditional Hindu temple style of curvilinear cornices copied from the bamboo structures, and of beautifully carved Hindu symbolic decorative designs like the lotus." The ruins of these buildings are found at Gaur or Lakhnauti, Tribeni and Pandua. The earliest specimen of the Bengal style of architecture are the tomb and mosque of Zafar Khan Ghazi, which were built mostly out of the materials from the Hindu temples. The well-known Adina Masjid was built by Sikandar Shah at Pandua in 1369 or 1374. It was a very huge and ambitious structure, and, though considered in Bengal as one of the wonders of the world, its design, in the opinion of Sir John Marshall, is "far from being worthy of its size." Curiously enough the building did not possess an imposing entrance gateway. Its builder Sikandar Shah lies buried in a square chamber attached to the northern hall and the back wall of the mosque. Another beautiful building is the tomb of Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Shah at Pandua, which is considered as one of the finest tombs in Bengal. It belongs to the single-domed square type edifice and is built mostly of bricks collected from older Hindu buildings. The Dakhil Darwaza at Gaur is "as perfect an example of brick structure as can be found anywhere in the world." The other well-known structures are the Lotan Masjid, the Bara Sona Masjid, the Chhota Sona Masjid and the Qadam Rasul mosque. Of these the Bara Sona Masjid "has the merit of greater simplicity and impressiveness." The Bengal style was a class by itself and is inferior to most of the other provincial styles in design, execution, decoration and finish. The builders were handicapped by the difficulty of obtaining stone, and bricks had to be used almost exclusively. The structures, therefore, were weak and fragile. The buildings were characterised by low elevation, insignificant arches and small domes. The style also was marked by heavy and short pillars that separated the arches and the walls. The builders tried to create impression by enlarging the dimensions of the structures. The beauty of the Bengal style consisted in ornamentation in terracotta, curved cornice, and the hut-shaped super-structure over the roof and in juxtaposition with the semi-circular dome.

Jaunpur

Jaunpur, once the headquarters of an independent Hindu kingdom, was given its present name by Firoz Tughluq in 1359-60. But in 1394 it became an independent Muslim kingdom. It enjoyed an independent status for nearly a century only when it was conquered and annexed by Sikandar Lodi. During 100 years of its existence the Sharqi dynasty erected many imposing buildings, including palaces, mosques, tombs, etc. The fort of Jaunpur built in 1377 is in ruins, and only its eastern gate stands in a. dilapidated condition. The buildings erected by the Sharqi sultans were characterised by a synthesis of Hindu and Muslim architectural ideas. They are noted for their massive sloping walls, square pillars, small galleries, and cloisters, The mosques which were built out of the materials of the demolished Hindu temples have no minarets of the usual Muslim type.

One of the brilliant specimen of the Sharqi style is the Atala Devi Masjid which was begun in 1377 and completed in 1408. As its name shows the mosque is built on the site of an earlier Hindu temple dedicated to the worship of Atala Devi. It consists of an open square court with colonnaded cloisters on the north, south and east, and the sanctuary or prayer chamber on the west. There are three handsome gateways each covered by a dome. The most imposing feature of the structure is "the facade of the sanctuary where three huge propylon screens confront the spectator with their massive and overpowering dimensions." The building indicates a new and bold conception of mosque which became characteristic of the Jaunpur style of architecture.

The Jhanjhiri Masjid is the second important religious shrine built by Ibrahim Shah Sharqi about 1430. It is in a dilapidated condition, and what remains of it is now its massive pylon in the centre of its facade. This mosque too was built after the pattern of the Atala Devi Masjid. The interior of its surface was covered by profuse carvings. Another mosque called Khalis Mukhlis Masjid, built about the same time and after the same pattern, is a plain and simple structure without any peculiarity of its own.

The Lal Darwaza Masjid was built about the middle of the 15th century, and is so called because of the colour of its gate. Although built after the pattern of the Atala Masjid, it differs from its prototype in some particulars. For example, it has a single propylon, lower in height in comparison to its width at the base. Moreover, the ladies' galleries in the mosque are situated in the parts of the transepts adjoining the nave, and not at the far ends as in the Atala Masjid. The sanctuary of this edifice has a single dome over its nave, and the roofs of the transepts too differ from those of the Atala mosque. There are a few other minor differences, and these make the Lal Darwaza mosque as an original conception.

The most important monument of Jaunpur is the Jami Masjid built by Husain Shah Sharqi about 1417. It is the largest and most ambitious of the Jaunpur mosques. In design it is like the Atala Masjid, but differs from it in some details. The entire building is erected over a lofty basement terrace in the manner of Firoz Tughluq's mosques at Delhi. The cloisters are two-storeyed in elevation, but are only two aisles in depth. The sanctuary facade has only one propylon in the middle, but it is more imposing in dimensions than the central propylon of the Atala Masjid. The interior of the prayer chamber is divided into five compartments and adjoining to it are on either side a pillared transept in two storeys. "At the far end on each side is a vaulted wing, certainly a unique feature in compositions of this kind. Each wing measures 50 feet in length, 40 feet in width and 45 feet in height, and the spacious interior, unencumbered by supports of any kind, might by itself be regarded as an imposing conception. The construction of the wide pointed vault which spans the wing at each end is also ingenious and effective."

Dr. S. K. Saraswati points out some inherent defects in the Jaunpur style. These are : the small height of the domes of the mosques which are hidden from view by the towering height of the massive propylons, the coarse execution of the schemes, and a lack of sense of structural propriety. On account of these defects the buildings, though beautiful and impressive as far as certain single parts are concerned, are not as well integrated structures as one should expect them to be.

Malwa

The buildings erected by the sultans of Malwa, though influenced greatly by the Delhi style, are not slavish imitation of Delhi and constitute a distinctive style of their own. There are two remarkable mosques at Dhar, the ancient capital of the kingdom. One of these was originally a Sanskrit college attached to which was a Hindu temple. It is even now known as the Bhojshālā. It was converted into a mosque. The other mosque is also built out of the materials of Hindu temples and other buildings. Both betray great Hindu influence, particularly their pillars which are Hindu in form. But the buildings at Mandu, which was established as capital by the local sultans, are Muslim in design and execution and bear a close resemblance to those of Delhi. According to Marshall the buildings of Mandu are "truly living and full of purpose, as instinct with creative genius as the models themselves from which they took their inspiration." Their distinctive character is generally due "to peculiarities of construction and ornament, to the happy proportions of their component parts or to other more subtle refinements that do not readily admit of analysis."

The early buildings of the sultans of Malwa were erected out of the materials of desecrated Hindu temples. No attempt was made to hide or alter their essential Hindu appearance. These early buildings are the Kamal Maula Masjid, the Lat Masjid, the Dilawar Khan's Masjid and the Malik Mughis Masjid at Mandu.

The second classical phase of Malwa architecture begins with the foundation of the fortress of Mandu, which was erected on old foundations by Hushang Shah, who made it the most magnificent of all the fortress cities of India. The fortress was surrounded by the battlemented walls, with arched and vaulted gateways of whom the Delhi Darwaza was the most conspicuous. Of the buildings inside the largest and most impressive is the Jami Masjid which was completed in 1454. It is raised over a lofty plinth with a series of arcaded chambers in front. The courtyard in the interior had arched cloisters on all the four sides. The cloisters are of the same design with one difference, namely, that while the eastern one had only two aisles, the northern and southern had three each and the prayer chamber on the west had five. "The last is further distinguished externally by three large domes—one over the central compartment containing the principal *mihrab* and one over each of the royal galleries at the rear corners. Besides these three large domes, a number of small cylindrical cupolas, corresponding to the interspaces formed by the division of the cloisters into bays and aisles, compose the interior formation of the roof." (Saraswati)

The other important buildings in Mandu are the Hindola Mahal, the Jahaz Mahal, Husang Shah's Tomb and the palaces of Baz Bahadur and Rupmati. The Darbar Hall, which is popularly known as Hindola Mahal, was also probably erected by Husang Shah. "Few buildings in India," says Percy Brown, "present a more striking appearance, or are more solidly constructed than this amazing file." In shape this building is like the letter 'T', "the stem of the 'T' forming the main hall and the cross constituting a group of apartments in two storeys." The building has six arched openings on each of the longer sides of the hall, and three in the front wall. The building looks very graceful on account of its chiselled masonry. Its dignified appearance is heightened by its plain battering walls of smooth texture, wide archways of noble proportions, continuous eaves supported on brackets and only oriel windows forming elegant balconies.

The Asharfi Mahal, situated opposite the Jami Masjid, consists of a group of buildings of which the nucleus was a madrsah built probably by Husang Shah. Mahmud Khalji converted the madrsah into an extensive terrace to support the mausoleum. Mahmud also built a lofty tower to commemorate his victory over Rana Kumbha of Chittor. Much of this tower has fallen on account of the poor material of which it was built. The tomb of Husang Shah which stands behind the Jami Masjid is a magnificent construction. It has an arched doorway flanked by two small screened windows. There are three small trellised windows on the south. The structure is surmounted by a large dome and has the appearance of a stolid and sombre pile. The Jahaz Mahal with its arched walls, roofed pavilions and beautiful reservoirs is one of the most conspicuous buildings in Mandu.

The palaces of Baz Bahadur and Rupmati are built high up on the plateau overlooking the Narmada. The so-called Baz Bahadur's palace seems to have been built by Sultan Nasir-ud-din, son of Ghiyas-ud-din Khalji, in 1508-09 A.D., but it became the favourite residence of Baz Bahadur on account of its picturesque situation and looks. It is a lonely building on the slope of a hill and consists of two rectangular compositions of arcaded cloisters and an outer court and a gateway in front. The building does not possess much architectural grandeur. Rupmati's palace stands on the southern edge of the plateau. It has a massive hall with a room at either end. A little later two open pavilions covered by fluted domes, one at either end, were erected over the terraced roof of the original block. These pavilions overlooking the plains of the Narmada add charm to the building and are said to have been built under Rupmati's instructions. These buildings have made Mandu the most magnificent fortress city of India.

Gujarat

The Gujarat architecture is the most remarkable and the finest among the provincial architectures of India. The indigenous style had reached the nadir of its glory before the province was conquered by Ala-ud-din Khalji. The Turkish conquerors utilised the local talent and erected beautiful buildings which were characterised by the use of fine wood carving, delicate stone lattice work and profuse ornamentation. The capital city of Ahmedabad founded by Ahmad Shah was enriched with a number of lofty buildings which were built completely out of the materials of the old Hindu temples and other buildings. One of the best examples of the Gujarat style is the well-known Jami Masjid at Ahmedabad erected by Ahmad Shah in 1423 A.D. It occupies a large quadrangle and has four cloisters on four sides of the open courtyard. The sanctuary proper consists of an immense hall with 260 tall pillars closely and carefully spread to form a series of square bays. The central portion of the nave takes the form of a tall shaft in three storeys. The aisles on either side of the nave are similarly disposed, but these have only one gallery each. The pillars and galleries are richly carved. In the opinion of Percy Brown, in this mosque has reached "the high water-mark of the mosque design in Western India, if not in the entire country." The notable features of this mosque are its diversified sections, its array of graceful pillars and its richly carved galleries. Its splendid ornamentation consists in intricate traceries and arabesques. The facade of the mosque with its well-proportioned parts, beautiful and extensive arches, shapely buttresses, carved mouldings and string-course and battlements combine to make it one of the noblest edifices in the whole world. The work is on the model of the west Indian temple style. Fergusson notices a resemblance between the architecture of this mosque and Rana Kumbha's temple at Rampur both of which were built about the same time.

The tomb of Ahmad Shah situated in an enclosure to the east of the Jami Masjid is a square building with a portico projecting from the middle of each side. The southern side is the entrance. The tomb is covered by a large dome. Although this mausoleum does not possess special architectural merits, it is nevertheless an elegant building. The Rani ka Hujra or the tomb enclosure of the royal ladies consists of a square open courtyard enclosed by an arched screen with columned cloisters both inside and outside. The cenotaphs inside are richly carved and profusely inlaid.

There are several other beautiful monuments in Ahmedabad and other cities of Gujarat. Mahmud Begarha (1458-1511) founded three new cities and adorned them with splendid buildings. Champāner, 78 miles to the south-east of Ahmedabad, was built on a grand scale. New buildings were added to Ahmedabad, and at Sarkhej was erected a vast palace with gardens, pavilions, artificial lakes, etc. The Jami Masjid of Champaner, completed in 1508, is one of the most splendid edifices and is considered by Fergusson as "architecturally the finest in Gujarat."

The beauty of the Gujarat style of architecture was due to several factors. In the first place, the Muslim sultans of that province were liberal enough to recognise the merits of the local artisans and take advantage of their skill. They abstained from imposing their own ideas, "beyond the barest minimum demanded by the new conditions, and were content to adhere to the established traditions of the country." Secondly, the inventive genius of the Indian craftsmen was allowed a free scope. Thirdly, "balance and harmony, elegance of design, richnesses of decoration and almost flawless execution are the key-notes of this new style in which Indo-Muslim architecture may be seen at its best." The Gujarat style has been considered as "the most indigenously Indian." In the words of Dr. Saraswati, its "unique character may best be explained as the product as much of a highly specialised local style as of a different kind of Islamic patronage."

Kashmir

In the remote valley of Kashmir the local sultans adopted the old Hindu tradition of stone and wooden architecture. They supplemented it with structural forms and decorative motifs peculiarly associated with Islam. The result was that in Kashmir, as elsewhere, there was a harmonious blending of the Hindu and Muslim architectural ideas. Some of the important buildings of the valley belong to the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-1470). The tomb of Mandani, with the adjacent mosque in Srinagar, is considered to be a beautiful specimen of Kashmir art. The Jami Masjid at Srinagar built by Sikandar, the *idol-breaker*, and extended by Zain-ul-Abidin "is still an instructive example of the pre-Mughal style." Another building is the mosque of Shah Hamadān which is built exclusively of timber.

The Deccan

The Bahmani sultans of the Deccan were patrons of art. They brought into existence a peculiar style of architecture which was a mixture of a number of elements, such as, Indian, Turkish, Egyptian and Persian. The mosques at Gulbarga and Bidar are beautiful specimen of this art. But the most remarkable Deccan architecture is found in Bijapur. The magnificent mausoleum of Muhammad Adil Shah, popularly known as Gol Gumbaz, is built after a peculiar style in which the Turkish art ideas have a preponderating influence. There are other equally celebrated buildings, such as, the Jami Masjid at Gulbarga, the minar at Daultabad and the college of Mahmud Gāwān at Bidar. Most of the buildings of the Bahmani sultans were built on the site, and out of the materials, of demolished Hindu temples and, therefore, it was impossible to avoid Hindu influence. According to Sir John Marshall, in the early stages of the evolution of the Bahmanide art, the native of the Deccan had to struggle hard for its existence ; but from about the end of the 15th century it began to reassert itself. The Indian genius thus ultimately rose superior to the foreign influence.

Hindu architecture

As has been said above the Hindus had developed architecture to perfection before the advent of the Turks. The distinctive features of the Hindu trabeate style are : (1) narrow columns, (2) pilasters, (3) corbel brackets, (4) tapering arch, built on the cantilever principle, (5) flat roof, (6) wide eaves, and (7) ornamental designs. Hindu buildings were generally mysterious and were not broad and open to sun and the air. Hindu rulers were fond of temples and Sanskrit colleges. They did not seem to have bestowed much attention on their palaces. The medieval specimen of Hindu architecture in northern India are to be found in Rajasthan, particularly in Mewar. Most of the rulers of Mewar were patrons of art and architecture. Rana Kumbha erected numerous forts, palaces, temples, and other buildings. The most beautiful and well-known among them are the fort of Kumbhalgarh and the Kirti Stambha or Jai Stambha (pillar of victory) at Chittorgarh. The pillar is one of the most remarkable towers in the country. It is built partly of grey sand-stone and partly of white marble. There is another pillar at Chittor known as Jai Stambha which is embellished with beautiful carving and lattice work. The palaces at Chittor form a class by themselves, and are models of medieval Hindu architecture. At Amber near Jaipur, there are ruins of old buildings belonging to this period and so also in several other states of Rajasthan. These buildings are characterised by massiveness and solidity. There is hardly any old state in Rajasthan which did not possess a fortified fort of its own, and each of these states had its own peculiar architecture, though it did not differ materially from the common style of Chittor and Kumbhalgarh.

The rulers of Vijayanagar in the Deccan were celebrated for their patronage of art. They built palaces, public offices, temples and aqueducts, which were considered works of beauty and excited the admiration of foreign travellers. The royal palace was a formidable structure which, in the words of Paes, enclosed "a greater space than all the castles of

Lisbon." The city had strong and massive fortifications and imposing gateways. The city was completely destroyed by Muhammadan invaders in 1565, but its remains "are significant as illustrating one of the most sumptuous phases of South Indian architecture."

There were numerous temples in the city and in different parts of the kingdom. In fact Vijayanagar was considered a city of temples. Of these the temples of Pampapati, Vitthal Swami and Hazara Rama were most conspicuous. These were exquisitely ornamented and were more spacious than North Indian temples. They had massive *gopurams* and spacious *mandapas.*

The Hindu architecture of this period seems to have remained uninfluenced by Islamic ideas. It was not until after the advent of the Mughals that our architects, artisans and artists came under the influence of Islamic art.

12

Mughal Architecture

(1526-1605)

Babar and Humayun

Being a man of fastidious critical taste, Babar did not much appreciate the buildings of the Turkish and Afghan rulers at Delhi and Agra. But he was moved by the beautiful architecture at Gwalior where he "went over all the palaces of Man Singh and Vikramajit" and pronounced them "singularly beautiful, though built in different patches and without regular plan."[1] The palaces at Gwalior were a fine example of the Hindu architecture of the first quarter of the 16th century and became a model for Babar to turn to when he began building palaces for himself. He employed "many hundreds of workmen on his buildings in Agra, Sikri, Bayana, Dholpur, Gwalior and Aligarh (Koil).[2] But it seems that he built at these places pavilions, baths, wells, tanks and fountains, and not palaces and public buildings. His palaces seem to have been improvised structures which could not long stand the wear and tear of time. Only two of his buildings have survived and these are a large mosque in the Kabulibagh at Panipat and a Jama Masjid at Sambhal in Ruhelkhand, both built in 1529. A third building of his time is also a mosque, erected by Abul Baqi at Babar's orders at Ayodhya. But none of these possesses any special architectural significance. Babar had a mind to invite from Constantinople a pupil of the famous Albanian architect, Sinan, to assist him in his building projects ; but he seems to have given up the idea.

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[1] *Babur-Nama* ; C. H. I., IV, p. 523.

[2] *Ibid,* C. H. I., IV, p. 524.

Humayun, though equally fond of architecture, did not leave a prominent architectural monument to his credit. His palace at Delhi, called Din Panah, was built in a hurry, without much thought of quality or durability. Probably, it was destroyed by his rival Sher Shah. The two mosques built by him, one at Agra and the other at Fatehābād in Hisar, are in ruins and do not show any originality of design or execution. Both Babar and Humayun, however, on account of their taste and experience indirectly contributed to the establishment of a tradition favourable to the erection of buildings finer than those of the period of the Sultanate of Delhi.

The Mausoleum of Sher Shah

Probably the best example of the Indo-Muslim architecture in the country before the reign of Akbar is the mausoleum of Sher Shah which was built by him on a high plinth in the centre of a lake at Sahasram in Bihar. The building is Muhammadan in design, but its interior is embellished with Hindu corbelling and horizontal architraves. Critics are of the opinion that it is intermediate between "the austerity of the Tughluq buildings and the feminine grace of Shah Jahan's masterpiece." Sher Shah erected another important building, namely, the Purana Qila on the site of Humayun's Din Panah, which he had razed to the ground. Only a part of the Purana Qila has escaped the ravages of time. The mosque inside it, known as the Qila-i-Kunhna Masjid, is "a structure of such admirable architectural qualities as to entitle it to a high place among the buildings of northern India."

Akbar's buildings

No building of merit was constructed during the period between the death of Sher Shah and the accession of Akbar. After Akbar had taken the reins of government in his hands and given peace and order to the country under him, conditions became favourable for large-scale building projects. The emperor's interest in and patronage of architecture led to the erection of magnificent monuments which fully justify Abul Fazl's remark that "His Majesty plans splendid edifices and dresses the work of his mind and heart in the garment of stone and clay." Akbar mastered every detail of the styles of architecture in existence and supplied new ideas to his architects to translate them into practical form. He was able to give the impress of his personality to the buildings that were erected by his orders at Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, Lahore, Allahabad, Attock and other places. The style of architecture evolved by Akbar represented a fusion of the Hindu and Muslim styles and may be called the mixed Hindu-Muslim style or national Indian style of architecture.

The earliest building of the reign, Humayun's tomb at Delhi built under the supervision of the emperor's step-mother Haji Begum, does not belong to Akbar's new style and was uninfluenced by Akbar's ideas on account of Haji Begum's Persian sympathies and because the architect Mirak Mirza Ghiyas who was emploped to build it was also a Persian. Consequently this building is Persian in style. It is the earliest example in India of "a double dome with slightly swelling outlines, standing on a high neck, a form of construction resembling the mausoleum of Timur and Bibi Khanam at Samarqand." The style is traced back to the Umayyid Mosque at Damascus built at the end of the 11th century.

The Agra Fort

The earliest specimen of Akbar's new style of architecture is the Red Fort at Agra. As a traveller detrains at the Agra Fort Station, a gigantic red sand-stone edifice first catches his eye.

This massive structure is the earliest and most celebrated fort built by Akbar the Great Mughal (1542-1605). It was begun in 1565 under the supervision of Qasim Khan, chief engineer at the emperor's court. Three to four thousand skilled masons were employed every day for fifteen years, and it cost thirtyfive lakhs of rupees in the currency of that time. The fort has not been built to any regular plan, for it was erected on the site of Sikandar Lodi's brick-fort, and also because the course of the river Yamuna, on the right bank of which it stands, had to be taken into account. It is nearly 1½ miles in its circuit and the inner walls, entirely made of hewn red sand-stone, are nearly 70 feet high. It is said that no such walls had ever been raised before, as "from top to bottom the fire-red hewn stones are joined so closely that even a hair cannot find its way into their joints." In the words of Percy Brown, these walls "were composed of a massive interior core of rubble and concrete faced with carefully worked blocks of sand-stone linked together by iron rings." "These blocks of stone were laid in alternate courses, a wide course separated by narrow bond-stones, a method of construction which is found in all the buildings of Akbar's time." The second and outer wall which is much shorter in height was added later on in the time of Aurangzeb. The wall of the fort is strengthened by many powerfully built bastions at regular intervals. The fort had originally four gates, two of which were later walled up. The other two remain to this day. The main gate on the western side, which was finished in 1566, is known as the Delhi Gate. Passing through this gate one reaches the inner entrance called the Hathi Pole or Elephant Gate, because its archway was flanked by two elephants with their riders in stone. These were razed to the ground by Aurangzeb's orders in 1668. This Delhi Gate according to Percy Brown is "undeniably one of the most impressive portals in all India." The main entrance or archway is "flanked by two bastions, but it is the masterly manner in which this simple scheme was handled that gives it such an impressive and, at the same time, artistic appearance. Taking the octagon as his theme, the designer has made the bastions, the vaulted chamber between, and the domed kiosks crowning the battlements, all eight-sided in plan. Height was obtained by the whole being in two storeys, with the bastions divided transversely by a balcony on brackets, a projection which gives a most useful line of interruption to the facade. Openings below would only weaken the appearance of a building obviously required for strength, so that, except for the main archway, the lower storey has no voids, but above the balcony are arched recesses producing the necessary effect of depth and substance. Considerable interest attaches to the manner in which the entire surface of the gateway was decorated ; patterns in white marble inlay enrich the arcades and the panels, while coloured tiles of winged dragons, elephants and foliated birds[3] add vitality to a composition which in itself is remarkable for animation and strength." The other gateway is a smaller one and is known as the Amar Singh Gate. It was for private use, and derived its name from an incident that took place in the time of Shahjahan (1628-1658). Amar Singh Rathor, a vassal of the Jodhpur ruling family, was a Jagirdar of Nagaur and a mansabdar of high rank in the Mughal service. One day (while the imperial court was in session) Salabat Jung, fourth bakhshi of the empire, spoke sharply to Amar Singh. Feeling greatly hurt, Amar Singh laid violent hands on the bakhshi and was immediately ordered to be arrested. It is said that in trying to effect his escape, he galloped across and over the fort wall and landed near this gateway. Hence the gate came to be named after him. The structure has no pretence to any architectural significance. A draw-bridge connects the massive gate with the space beyond the wide moat. This runs round the entire fortress and was ever kept filled with water. Visitors are permitted to enter the fort through this (Amar Singh) gate only.

Within this enclosure Akbar erected more than 500 buildings of red sand-stone carried out in the beautiful styles of Bengal and Gujarat which "masterly sculptors and cunning artists of form have fashioned as architectural models." Most of these buildings were situated along the eastern wall overlooking the river. Many of these beautiful edifices were pulled down by Shahjahan who erected white marble structures in their places. Some of these, however, can be still seen in the south-east corner of the fort. These represent the general characteristics of the early architectural productions of Akbar.

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[3] The insertion of birds which was against the Quranic injunction reflects Akbar's freedom from bigotry at an early age.

The Jahangiri Mahal

The most important and in a very good state of preservation is the so-called Jahangiri Mahal, which was either built by the emperor for the residence of his son, Jahangir, or assumed its present name because Jahangir resided there after Akbar's death. This is the first notable building that the visitor sees on his right-hand side at the end of a spacious lawn, as he enters the fort through the Amar Singh Gate and emerges from the passage leading through the two inner arched gateways and a long corridor with the lofty brick walls on either side. This palace is almost a square building, measuring 249 feet by 260 feet, and is surmounted by four large kiosks one on each of its four corners. The gate of the palace is a pointed archway and simple in design, but is embellished with patterns carried out in white marble inlay. It leads to the inner doorway which is not in the centre of the main gate, but placed a little further to its right, so that nothing within may be seen by anyone outside the palace gate. The small entrance, through a narrow corridor, leads to the inner building, the Jahangiri Mahal, which is built after the plan of a central rectangular courtyard with tiers of double storeyed rooms on each of the four sides. The quadrangle is 71 ft. by 72 ft. and the rooms around it constitute one of the finest architectural work of Akbar's time. The rooms are built almost entirely of red sand-stone, white marble being used as sparingly as possible, and that too, on the exterior only. The palace is almost wholly Hindu in design and workmanship, the principle of construction being the 'beam and bracket'. The roofs are flat and not vaulted, and the arch too has been avoided as far as possible and used only 'in its ornamental capacity'. The most important feature of the edifice is its carved and ornamental stone brackets which support the stone beams, wide eaves and flat ceilings in all parts of the building. The portico of the eastern facade and struts in the northern hall are very exquisite and lend support to the theory that the workmanship aimed at reproducing the effect of wooden beams. Havell, however, is of the opinion that European critics were wholly mistaken in thinking that the Indian craftsman blindly imitated the wooden structure and had no intelligence to adapt his methods to the materials to be used. Whichever view be correct, it is admitted on all hands, that the Jahangiri Mahal here is so characteristically Hindu that it could hardly be out of place amidst any of the buildings in Gwalior, Chittor or Udaipur. It is also a well-known fact that Akbar's catholicity of taste permitted his artists to borrow readily from a variety of sources. Man Singh Tomar's fort at Gwalior, without doubt, furnished a model for Akbar's fort at Agra.

In the centre of the lawn in front of the Jahangiri Mahal lies a stone cistern of Jahangir. It is shaped like a bowl hewn out of a single block of greenish-black stone, and is 5 feet high, 4 feet deep, 8 feet in diameter and 25 feet in circumference. It is an object of great artistic value and has several Persian verses inscribed on its outer surface. From the last line of the verses it would appear that the cistern was constructed in 1019 A.H. It was used as a bath-tub.

From the Jahangiri Mahal the visitor, on turning to his right, would face a dilapidated building known as Akbari Mahal. It was situated just south of and contiguous to the Jahangiri Mahal. It was one of Akbar's earliest buildings. Though the main structure of Akbari Mahal is no longer in existence, its general plan is clear enongh. It was constructed after the same design as Jahangiri Mahal which was built some years later, the only noticeable difference being that the Akbari Mahal, which was built earlier, is "a little coarser and bolder in its treatment compared with the finer and more ornate handiwork of the Jahangiri Mahal."

Fatehpur Sikri : Origin of the city

The palaces and other royal buildings at Fatehpur Sikri were the outcome of a pious wish on the part of Akbar the Great. The Emperor had no son to inherit the vast empire that he had created, and a few children that were born to him had died in their infancy. Keenly desirous of having a son Akbar made an annual pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaikh Muin-ud-din Chishti at Ajmer. In 1569 he went to visit a Muslim saint, Shaikh Salim Chishti, who lived in a hut in the village of Sikri, 23 miles to the west of Agra. The holy man made a prophecy that Akbar would have three sons. On August 30, 1569 the eldest of these was born to Akbar's Rajput queen, the daughter of Raja Bharmal of Amber. She had been sent to the Shaikh's residence when she expected to be confined. The baby was named Salim after the name of the Shaikh. Akbar considered Sikri a lucky place and resolved to convert it into a great city. "Inasmuch as," writes Abul Fazl, "his (Akbar's) exalted sons (Salim and Murad) had taken their birth in Sikri and the God-knowing spirit of Shaikh Salim had taken possession thereof, his holy heart desired to give outward splendour to this spot which possessed spiritual grandeur......an order was issued that the Superintendents of affairs should erect lofty buildings for the special use of the Shahanshah."[4] Jahangir writes in his autobiography : "My revered father, considering the village of Sikri, which was the place of my birth, lucky for him, made it his capital. In the course of 14 or 15 years that hill, full of wild beasts, became a city containing all kinds of gardens and buildings, and lofty, elegant edifices and pleasant palaces, attractive to the heart."[5] After the conquest of Gujarat this village was named Fatehabad, but in common use it began to be called Fatehpur Sikri. The royal orders were executed without delay and the work of building a capital with palaces and mosques, schools, khanqahs, baths and other buildings was "pushed on with such lightning rapidity that not only its splendour but the almost magical speed with which it was completed was a matter of contemporary comment." As Father Monserrate who was an eye witness writes, "all the material prepared according to specification was brought complete and ready to the place where it was to be used,"[6] and a great city with many magnificent buildings came into existence within 14 to 15 years.

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[4] *Akbar-Nama*, tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. II, pp. 530-31.

[5] *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, tr. by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. I, p.2

Situation of the City : Diwan-i-Am

The royal city was built on a ridge or rocky eminence two miles long and one mile broad, three sides of which were enclosed by a lofty but irregular wall a little over six miles in circuit and the fourth or the north-western side was protected by a large artificial lake several miles in area. The wall had nine gates, four of which were important. The main entrance is the Agra Gate which is to the east being in the direction of the city of Agra. The road bifurcates from the Agra Gate, one branch leading to the royal buildings and the other down the hills to the village of Fatehpur. As the visitor passes through the Agra Gate and walks up towards the plateau, he finds in front of him a pile of the royal palaces and public buildings perched on the levelled ridge of a hill half a mile long and one furlong broad. Almost on all the four sides of this ridge, and at lower levels, were situated sarais, baths, wells, schools, offices and shops. Walking along the road from the Agra Gate with the Naqqār-Khāna or Drum House on its first storey, the visitor finds on his right a series of vaulted chambers known as the mint and on his left a hall said to be the Hall of Accounts. Going up a little further he finds himself in a large courtyard 360 feet by 180 feet in front of the Diwan-i-Am. This courtyard was a semi-public enclosure on the three sides of which there are arcaded verandahs meant for the attendants and other servants of the royal mansabdars or members of the Mughal Imperial Service. The Diwan-i-Am situated on a very high plinth is by itself an unpretentious, though richly carved, structure, a single oblong room with a verandah in front, covered by slanting roofs of red sand-stone and shielded by beautiful stone screens. In this room Akbar the Great used to sit on a throne or stand, in the balcony, whenever he held a general darbar. The courtyard in front was covered by an awning stretched over ornamented wooden poles and furnished with expensive carpets. Behind the Diwan-i-Am are situated, in a second spacious courtyard, the royal palaces, residences, retiring rooms, Diwan-i-Khas and offices of state "each with its own courtyard or enclosure, regularly disposed but apparently of no particular plan except that from Akbar's own apartments access could readily be obtained to all parts." From the courtyard of the Diwan-i-Am one can enter through a narrow passage, another but a smaller court, to the left of which is situated a handsome building of red sand-stone, surrounded by an arcaded verandah and having broad projecting eaves on all sides. This was Akbar's Record Office or Daftar Khana.

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[6] *Memoirs of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, III, 560, 642.

Diwan-i-Khas

From the Diwan-i-Am, stepping down a small stone staircase situated at the back of the above building the visitor finds himself in the second courtyard which used to be a private enclosure and meant only for the emperor, his household and the highest servants of the state. The buildings in this enclosure stand on a high red sand-stone terrace. One such on the right is an elegant though small structure, which is the famous Diwan-i-Khas or the Hall of Private Audience. It is the most distinctive among the administrative edifices in the city, being most unusual in conception. From outside it seems to be a double-storeyed building, but is not really so. It is a square edifice measuring 43 feet on each side and containing a single vaulted chamber, 28 ft. and 8 inches square. It has a flat terraced roof each angle of which is surmounted by a pillared kiosk. The vaulted chamber is surrounded by corridors containing staircases that lead to the galleries above. The interior arrangements of the Diwan-i-Khas are unique. In the centre of the hall stands an exquisitely carved pillar surmounted by a cluster of thirtysix closely set voluted flower-like brackets on the top of which rests a circular stone platform. "From this central platform stone bridges radiate along each diagonal of the hall to connect with hanging galleries which surround its upper portion. The idea underlying such a curious structural contrivance was that the emperor would sit on a throne on the central platform while listening to arguments from the representatives of the different religious communities gathered there, the whole arrangement signifying what has been termed his 'dominion over the Four Quarters.'[7] Havell calls this column Vishnu's Symbolic Pillar or the Tree of the Universe. Apart from its architectural merit, the column is most original in conception.

The Treasury and the Hospital

The building next to the Diwan-i-Khas and just to the north of it is the royal treasury. It consists of a suite of rooms and does not seem to possess any architectural significance. It has a flat roof, and in the interior of the walls there are numerous large almirah-like niches and deep cavities meant probably for accommodating boxes of jewellery. On the slope of the ridge and to the right of the Diwan-i-Khas and the treasury, lie the ruins of a spacious hospital and allied buildings, their lay-out indicating the elaborate scale on which they were planned and the needs they must have fulfilled.

The Astrologer's Canopy

Adjacent to the treasury and on a stone platform to its west is situated a square canopy called the Astrologer's Seat. The canopy is open on all sides and is richly decorated with carvings. An architectural peculiarity of this small structure lies in its having large voluted struts which are supposed to be

[7] Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Islamic Period), p. 99.

peculiar to the Jain temples of Gujarat and other parts of western India. Percy Brown is of the opinion that here at least Akbar displayed a desire for the bizarre, and that the astrologer's pavilion suffers from over-ornamentation.

The Panch Mahal

Next to the astrologer's pavilion is the Panch Mahal, a five-storeyed structure raised on elaborately ornamented pillars each carved in a wholly different design. The building is planned after the model of the old Indian assembly halls referred to in Hindu and Buddhist literature. The ground floor of this five-storeyed open pavilion is an extensive hall with 48 pillars over which are erected the remaining four storeys each more diminutive in size than the one immediately beneath it. The pillars of each storey conform to a general scheme, but they are varied in the ornament of their capitals and bases, and also in their mouldings and other enrichments "so that the eye finds infinite variety of interest in observing the details without any disturbance of the general effect of classic dignity and repose." It is worthy of note that the carvings on the pillars are bells and chains in relief, *kalash* or pots with flowers and leaves placed in them, strings of *rudraksh* and other symbols of sanctity usually associated with Hindu religion and characteristic decorative features in Hindu temples. The fifth or the last storey is a domed canopy supported on four pilars. All the storeys are connected with one another by suitable stair-cases.

Princes' School

Lying at the foot of the Panch Mahal is another building said to have been a school for the royal children. It is a double storeyed structure erected on columns and covered by flat roofs. The columns are narrow like those in Hindu temples. The building must have been once well decorated and furnished but now the old carvings like the rest are decaying fast.

Turkish Sultana's Palace

In front of the Princes' School and in one corner of the enclosure of the Zananah stands a small but most exquisitely carved building called the Palace of the Turkish Sultana. The lady for whose residence this small building was erected was either Ruqayyah Begum, daughter of Hindal, who was the first wife of Akbar, or Salima Begum, a widow of Bairam Khan, whom Akbar married after her former husband's death. It is an exquisitely cut structural composition, consisting of a single storeyed pavilion and a pillared verandah. All the walls of this palace are "chiselled into a pattern of exquisite delicacy and refinement." The interior of the pavilion is also most elegantly embellished. There are engraved on the dados in the walls figures of animals, such as, elephants, tigers, etc., and a variety of plants, trees, fruits, and flowers. The faces of some of the animals in these representations were ordered by Aurangzeb to be disfigured as they violated the Islamic injunction against engraving or painting figures of living beings. This building is also remarkable for the application of blue glazed tiles to its slanting roofs. Percy Brown thinks that this building, on account of its character and the technique of plastic embellishment, suggests a wooden derivation and must have been built by artisans from the Panjab where timber tradition in the building art was in vogue in Akbar's time. He was so much impressed with this building that he called it an 'architectural gem.'

The Khas Mahal

Adjoining the Turkish Sultana's palace lies the Khas Mahal or the Imperial palace meant for Akbar's residence. It is situated in a paved courtyard 210 feet long and 120 feet broad. It is a double storeyed building and consists of a suite of chambers both on the ground floor and the upper storey. The building was surmounted by four cupolas arising from its angles. There was an outer wall with screens of white marble and red granite to provide seclusion for the ladies of imperial seraglio. These have now disappeared and their remains can be seen on the eastern side of the palace. The emperor's bed-chamber lies on the south of the courtyard. It is a square room nearly 15 feet on each side, and is simple in design. The room has four doors over each of which is inscribed a hemistich in Persian, all the four hemistiches forming a stanza complimentary to the emperor, the occupant of the palace. There is a library room attached to the emperor's bed chamber and in one corner of the upper storey is the Jharokha-i-Darshan from where the emperor used to show himself every morning to the assembled public down below. The west and north wings of the Zananah courtyard had a row of double storeyed rooms for the ladies of the imperial harem. These could be reached from the side of the Elephant Gate of the palace, by means of a long flight of steps connecting the second storey of the Zanana with the slope of the ridge in the north. In one corner of the palace, below the terrace, were situated the Hamman, the bath and other service apartments. Facing the Khas Mahal and the Turkish Sultana's palace is a masonry tank with a raised platform in the centre. The tank used to be filled with rose water and the emperor and his queens would sit on the terrace to enjoy the cool fragrant breeze.

Jodh Bai's Palace

The first building in the third courtyard of the ridge is the so-called Jodh Bai's palace. It is the most elaborate and complete structure among the residential buildings of Fatehpur Sikri and has all the characteristics of a completely mature architectural style. It is a rectangular edifice and measures 230 feet by 215 feet, enclosed by a wall 32 feet high. It has only one entrance or gateway. On the south of the building are situated service and bathing apartments, and on the north there is a double storeyed pavilion or Hawa Mahal (Palace of Breezes). The enclosing wall is quite plain, but very strongly built. The gateway on the east is decorated with balconies and surmounted by two handsome kiosks. There is a porter's lodge on one side of the gate, and the visitor passing through the gateway enters an inner court which has a doorway not in line with and opposite to the main gate but to one side so that nothing inside may be seen by any one from outside the gate. The interior of this palace consists of a series of symmetrically set double storeyed buildings on the four sides, all facing inward on to the quadrangle. The buildings on the first storey are not continuous, for in the corners there are open terraced roofs decorated with coloured tiles, with all the four corners of the palace surmounted by low pitched domes. The front structure of the first storey is a kind of pillared portico, but the buildings on the other three sides constitute separate blocks, each of which is "in effect a self-contained suite of living rooms not unlike a modern flat, while on the ground floor there are corridors and passages communicating with each part. Moreover the whole structure was so designed that each group of apartments could on occasions be readily divided off from the others, and it was also arranged that the chambers below in cold weather could be heated, those above always remaining airy and cool." The rooms in the suites on the upper storey are sufficiently large and could be used for a variety of purposes, such as, reception rooms, dining rooms, retiring rooms and promenades. The ceilings of one or two chambers of the upper storey are in the form of a wagon-vault with groins, a clear departure from the trabeated system of architecture after which almost all the secular buildings, including this palace, are built.

This so-called palace of Jodh Bai is a remarkable structure. It is most complete in its design and arrangements and is considered to be a typical royal residence of the medieval Mughals. It is in sharp contrast to the Jahangiri Mahal of the Agra Fort, which represents an earlier and experimental effort at creating a royal palace. Jodh Bai's palace also reflects in a clear manner the conditions of living that prevailed among the members of the Mughal imperial family for safety and strict seclusion. Moreover, it is a self-contained palace, with baths and service apartments, a private chapel for devotion and roofed terraces screened by parapets to serve as promenade. The various parts of the palace constitute a compact whole, each part being easily accessible for both occupants and servants. This building is almost wholly Hindu in design and workmanship. Its very plan and structure, its carved decoration, and the design of its niches and brackets resemble the plan and decoration and architectural design of the temples of western India. Its pillar-shafts, in form as well as in carved decoration such as bells and chains in relief, are exact copies of the temple architecture of the Hindus. A casual look at the niches in the rooms of the ground floor, particularly in the room facing the inner doorway, suggests that they were designed to contain images of Hindu deities. In short the architectural treatment in Jodh Bai's palace, as a whole, has led scholars like Havel and Percy Brown to the conclusion that its construction must have been entrusted to artisans from Gujarat.

The House of Mariam

Next to Jodh Bai's palace and in the same spacious courtyard is situated the house of Mariam, Akbar's chief Rajput queen and mother of Jahangir. This title—Mariam—has given rise to speculation about her race and religion. Many writers have wrongly conjectured that Mariam was an Armenian lady of Christian faith whom Akbar had married. Modern research has, however, established beyond the shadow of a doubt, that Akbar had no Christian wife, and that Mariam or Mariam-us-Zamani was the posthumous title of Jahangir's mother. Mariam's house is a small structure meant for the residence of Akbar's principal Rajput queen. It is in two storeys and consists of rooms without any central courtyard or out-houses for bath or service. A running verandah on ornamented pillars and wide projecting eaves considerably enhance its architectural effect. The first storey consists of a single room in the centre surmounted by a rectangular kiosk with two pointed pinnacles. Mariam's house is remarkable for the stone carving on the capitals of its pillars which are beautified with figures of animals, such as, elephants, tigers, and monkeys. It is also distinguished for its interior decoration. The inner walls and niches of the rooms and some of the outer walls in the verandah have fine murals "apparently of Persian subjects and executed in the manner of that country." There are portraits of human beings in gold and red, blue and other colours, which have now peeled off. These paintings are early specimens of the Mughal school established under the patronage of Akbar, who, contrary to the Quranic belief and practice, was fond of paintings and had his palaces and library and even his bed-room so decorated. The Archaeological Department of the Government of India has recently undertaken the work of reclaiming these paintings by a chemical process. According to Latif, on the arches of the verandah were inscribed Persian couplets by the poet-laureate Faizi, elder brother of Abul Fazl. These too have been obliterated. "The zeal of the modern Muslim," writes Latif, "has destroyed many carved figures and images. But traces of them are still visible."

Birbal's Palace

The last palace in the third courtyard is that of Birbal, a court wit (not prime minister, as Percy Brown thinks) and a favourite of Akbar. His real name was Mahesh Das and he was a Brahman from Orchha in the modern state of Madhya Pradesh. Within a few years of his having been introduced to the emperor, he rose to be his great friend, and became one of the *Nau-Ratnas* or Nine Jewels of the imperial court. Birbal's palace is one of the most exquisitely carved and embellished buildings in Fatehpur Sikri. It is a two-storeyed house and consists of four rooms and two porches on the ground floor. The first floor has only two rooms. The upper rooms are surmounted by beautiful low pitched domes, while the porches are covered by pyramidal roofs. Both the domes and the pyramidal roofs are designed after a modified principle of the double dome, that is, the domes have "an inner and an outer shell with an appreciable empty space between." The double dome was intended to keep the interior of the building cool. The remaining space on the first floor consists of an open terrace enclosed by stone screens. But the special interest of the building lies in the exuberance of its carved decoration and in its highly ornate brackets. Its wide eaves are supported on elegant brackets which are amazingly embellished with profuse carving. This building has been commended by art critics on account of the architectural treatment of its exterior and more particularly because of "the rich character of the eave-brackets, as these form an outstanding feature of its elevational aspects." The interior as well as the exterior of this building displays beautiful sculptured patterns. In no other building in Fatehpur Sikri "has this structural and decorative element been so liberally employed or so elaborately designed and executed as in this relatively small but lavishly devised ministerial abode."

Royal stables and Abul Fazl's residence

At a little distance from Birbal's palace are situated the royal stables for elephants, camels and horses. These are spacious rectangular buildings each with a courtyard, on both sides of which are arcaded verandas in which separate places are marked for the royal animals. There are separate stables for horses, camels and elephants. A small wicket leads the visitor to an open space in the direction of the Jami Masjid. Behind the mosque are two plain but lofty residential buildings enclosed by a common wall and having a common doorway. These were meant for the celebrated historian and scholar Abul Fazl, Akbar's *alter ego*, and his elder brother Faizi who was the poet-laureate of the imperial court. These houses are unadorned structures and are remarkable only for numerous extensive niches in the walls which probably served as almirahs for books.

The Hathi Pol, the Sarai and the Hiran Minar

There are at the edge of the last or the third courtyard of

Fatehpur Sikri a garden known as Mariam's garden, a mosque and a number of out-houses for service and other purposes. An important object of interest here is an elaborate system of water-works with Persian wheels which are just outside the famous gate known as Hathi Pol. The Hathi Pol or the Elephant Gate is a massive structure flanked by two octagonal bastions. It has an arched gateway 20 feet high from the ground, on both sides of which stand, on lofty pedestals, two red sand-stone figures of colossal elephants with their trunks entwining each other, as if about to engage in a combat. "The iconoclastic zeal of the fanatical Aurangzeb," rightly observes the late liberal-minded Syed Muhammad Latif, "has destroyed the heads of the effigies, or otherwise mutilated the ornamentations of the gate, than which no more superb ornament for the gateway of a Royal Eastern Palace can be imagined."

Very near the Elephant Gate lies a splendid bastion called the Sangin Burj. It constitutes the remnant of the fortification which Akbar had commenced on a large scale but which was discontinued soon after, it is said, on the advice of Shaikh Salim Chishti.

Outside, between the Elephant Gate and the Sangin Burj, is situated a vast caravansarai which was built by the emperor for merchants and other travellers from the various parts of the empire as well as from the countries of Central Asia. Merchants brought here and put for sale costly embroidered silk and woollen fabrics and jewels and articles of silver and gold. There was a handsome gallery screened by a stone lattice connecting the sarai with the female apartments of the palace so that the ladies of the harem could visit the place and see the rich merchandise exhibited there. The building is now in a dilapidated condition.

At a corner of the caravansarai on the brink of the lake stands a tower called the Hiran Minar. It is a 90 feet high tower, circular in shape, and is surmounted by a domed cupola open on all sides. It is supposed to have been built by Akbar over the grave of his favourite elephant who was a mountain of an animal and dearly loved by the emperor.

It is also believed that Akbar used to watch deer-hunts from the top of this tower. That is why it is known as Hiran Minar.

Jami Mosque

Just behind Abul Fazl's residence stands the grand Jami Mosque with its lofty portal, the celebrated Buland Darwaza. Within the enclosure of the mosque are also situated the tombs of Shaikh Salim Chishti and his grandson, Islam Khan. It appears that the original plan was to have the mosque only. It was to be one of the grandest ever built here and modelled after the famous mosque at Mecca. The enclosure is a rectangular courtyard, measuring 542 feet by 438 feet, and had originally three identical gates in the centre of each, the north, south and east wings. But when in 1571 it was decided to intern the remains of Shaikh Salim Chishti on one side of the courtyard and build a mausoleum befitting his high rank, the northern gate was closed. Nearly 25 years after the foundations of this mosque were laid, Akbar made another major alteration in the enclosure of the mosque. After returning from his victorious campaign in the Deccan, he ordered the demolition of the southern gate and built, in its place, a more magnificent gateway, now known as the Buland Darwaza. Thus only one of the three original gates in the enclosure of the mosque, the eastern gate, or the king's gateway, remains as it originally was. The Jami Mosque was begun in 1571 and was completed in 1575. The mosque is very elaborate in design and measures 288 feet by 66 feet. It is crowned by three domes, the central one being bigger than the two on either side and measures 41 feet in diameter. The side domes are only 25 feet in diameter. The courtyard of the mosque is 359 feet 10 inches by 248 feet 9 inches, and is paved with symmetrically placed flags of red sand-stone.

Although the design of this mosque is conventional, consisting of the sanctuary crowned by three domes, pillared cloisters and an open courtyard, the sanctuary has, both in conception and execution, a special character and significance. As the visitor enters the mosque from the king's gateway and passes through a fine open sweep of the flagged quadrangle, he sees the interior facade of the mosque, one of the grandest in the whole country. His first impression is one of massiveness and dignity. The facade consists of three parts, a large arched portico in the centre and two pillared arcades on either side. These arcades constitute the two wings of the mosque. The nave of the sanctuary is approached through three arched doorways which are carved out in the alcoved front or in the facade of the mosque. The nave is a square hall with the *mihrab* and is surmounted by the central dome. The aisles with chapels on both the sides of the nave have side domes over them. There are on all sides of the courtyard numerous chambers usually 10 feet square covered by lovely open kiosks. These were intended for the Muslim clergy and their pupils. "Much of the variety in the effect of this interior is obtained by the open spaces of the nave and side chapels, contrasting with the pillared aisles by which these are connected. The pillars in the wings are exceptionally well grouped and apportioned, so that from any angle an elegant vista is observable. Added to this is the admirable combination of beams and arches displayed and in such a manner that the balance of the two constructional systems is well maintained throughout, the arches providing attractive passages of perspective and the lintels with their pendant brackets enriching intervals between."

Although the plan of the mosque is based on the Arabic or Persian model the building is Indian in design. The Persian structural forms have only been adapted and not copied. The pillars of this mosque, as well as its roof, are purely Hindu. The domes too cannot be called strictly Persian, the central one resembling that of the Jami Masjid at Champaner. "All the domes have Hindu pinnacles." The brackets in the principal building are of pure Hindu design. The mosque including the nave has decorative murals. The carving, painting and inlaid ornamentation in this, the most important building in Fatehpur Sikri, is unsurpassed in any other building in Akbar's reign.

"No description," writes Percy Brown, "could do adequate justice to the diversity of patterns that are applied to the fabric of this fine structure, but it is as if the artists had taken as their model the pages of an exquisitely illumined manuscript and enlarged these with their shimmering web of line and colour to enrich the spaces on the walls." Thus in the mural decoration as well as the architectural treatment, this mosque is one of the finest in the country.

The Buland Darwaza

The Buland Darwaza which stands in the centre of the southern wall is the loftiest and the most magnificent gateway in India. The Buland Darwaza is an imposing structure, 176 feet in height from the level of the ground and 134 feet above the raised plinth upon which it is built. Its southern facade is 130 feet broad and from front to back, 123 feet. Thus, it dominates the entire city of Fatehpur Sikri and dwarfs all other buildings in the neighbourhood. Probably it had to be a massive structure since it was erected to commemorate Akbar's victory in the Deccan. The campaign had brought the whole of Khandesh and a part of Ahmadnagar under Mughal rule.

The Buland Darwaza is in itself a complete structure. It contains large halls, and a number of smaller rooms which are connected with one another, and through which access can be had to the inner quadrangle of the mosque. The facade of the portal is Persian in form, but in its architectural treatment it is distinctively Indian. It is "embowed by means of three planes comprising a large central face and a lesser one on each side receding at an angle. The central plane which is 86 feet across is rectangular in shape, the greater part of its surface being occupied by an arched and domed recess, while the narrower faces on its wings are in three storeys with varied openings in each stage. The most striking feature of this facade is the large arched recess in the centre, the semi-dome of which is carried on five surfaces in the form of a half decagon, down to the ground. By the skilful manipulation of these surfaces the designer has correctly related the crescendo of the great alcove above with the diminuendo of the man-height doorway at its base." On the top of the southern facade of the gate is a beautiful indented parapet behind which are arranged 12 lofty cupolas ; these are flanked by two slender turrets rising from the corners of the gateway. Behind the cupolas and rising above them are three kiosks with rounded domes over them. These are beautified by pointed pinnacles. All this architectural arrangement imparts to the whole a dignity and a rare grandeur. The inner facade of this splendid gateway is simpler in design. It consists of three arched entrances and its parapet is surmounted by eleven handsome kiosks. There are besides four large kiosks on the two sides of the gateway.

Shaikh Salim Chishti's Mausoleum

The architectural gem of Fatehpur Sikri, however, is Shaikh Salim Chishti's tomb standing in the northern corner of the mosque enclosure. It is built of white marble, and it is the only building in Fatehpur Sikri in the construction of which nothing but marble is used. All the other buildings are in red sand-stone. According to Vincent A. Smith and Percy Brown, it was originally built of red sand-stone like other buildings of Fatehpur Sikri, but either in the time of Jahangir or in the beginning of the reign of Shahjahan the same was transformed entirely into a marble structure without, however, affecting its previous shape and character. The mausoleum was enriched with additional architectural details and embellishment in the course of its transformation. The foundation of the tomb was laid in 1571 almost at the very time when the construction of the Jami Masjid was begun. The tomb is a square in plan measuring 24 feet on each side. The mortuary chamber, 16 feet in diameter, is surmounted by a melon shaped dome. The cenotaph is surrounded by a verandah and has a wide projecting pillared portico. Among its special features are its ornamental pillars and pilasters, and elaborate struts that support the wide spreading eaves. The pillars are unusual in shape ; their shafts are covered by a zigzag pattern and their capitals are like those of stalactite. The pillars in the portico are embellished by brackets of the most elaborate design and seem to have been the work of the early years of Jahangir's reign. These architectural details were borrowed from Hindu temples. The historian V. A. Smith was surprised to find unmistakable Hindu features in the architecture of the tomb of one of the most zealous Muhammadan saints and was compelled to own that the "whole structure suggests Hindu feeling." Among the highlights of its decoration, are the painted patterns over the walls of the interior, multicoloured designs of the floors, and exquisitely perforated screens of the verandahs. The sarcophagus is covered by a wooden canopy which is inlaid with charming arabesques carried out in ebony and mother-of-pearls. Both Fergusson and Percy Brown are of opinion that the decorative designs of some of the brackets and struts, though unique, "produce an effect more fantastic than beautiful, suggesting the unrestrained imagination of the temple builder rather than the rationality and reserve of Islam."

Shaikh Salim Chishti, the saint of Fatehpur Sikri, was a lineal descendant of Shaikh Farid-ud-Din known popularly as Shakar Gunj who traced his descent to Farukh Shah of Kabul. Qazi Shoeb, a descendant of Farid-ud-Din, persecuted by the Mongols under Changiz Khan, fled to Lahore and settled in the town of Kasur from where he migrated to Multan. Shaikh Farid-ud-Din was born in Khotowal in Multan. He settled in Pak Pattan or Ajodhan where he died in 1269 A.D. Shaikh Salim, called Chishti after the name of a village in Persia whence came his father, Baha-ud-din, was popularly believed to have possessed the power of miracles and was revered as one of the most renowned shaikhs of India of his time. He performed pilgrimages to Mecca 24 times and spent 15 years of his life there. He died in 1571 A.D. An inscription on the gateway of his white marble mausoleum containing a chronogram in Persian gives the date of his death as 979 A.H., equivalent to 1571 A.D.

Islam Khan's Tomb

To the south of Shaikh Salim Chishti's mausoleum stands that of his grandson Islam Khan. He was a member of the Imperial Service, and in 1608 was promoted by Jahangir to the governorship of Bengal. He died in 1613 A.D., was buried in the courtyard of the Jami Mosque, and a gigantic red sandstone mausoleum was erected over his tomb. It is a magnificent building "in excellent taste, but quite eclipsed by its surrounding."

Fatehpur Sikri : A reflex of Akbar's mind

"Taking it altogether," observes Fergusson, "this palace at Fatehpur Sikri is romance in stone, such as few, very few, are to be found anywhere ; and it is a reflex of the mind of the great man who built it more distinct than can easily be obtained from any other source."[8] The great buildings of Fatehpur Sikri, including its palaces, assembly halls and public offices, its schools, hospitals, baths and water works, its spacious caravanserais for travellers, its Jami Masjid, most of which are extant even to-day, constitute the most notable building achievement of the Mughal age, next only to that of the Taj Mahal, and bear witness to Akbar's unquestionable capacity as a great builder and as a great organiser and ruler of men. These buildings are built mainly of red sand-stone with insertions of white marble for purposes of decoration and emphasis. All the secular structures in the city are of the trabeate order and the application of arch is "mainly in its capacity as decorative arcading." The most clearly noticeable feauture of the architecture is a harmonious blending of the arcuate and trabeate styles in which the latter style preponderates but without destroying in any way the pleasing effect of the blending of the foreign with the indigenous architectural forms. The domes are Indianised, and the ornamentation, whether carved or inlaid, breaks new ground. This style of architecture visualises in stone Akbar's policy of uniting and fusing the diverse elements in India's age-long culture.

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[8] Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II (Second Edition), p. 297.

Fatehpur Sikri remained the *de facto* capital of the Mughal Empire from 1569 to 1585 during which period Akbar and his courtiers ordinarily resided there. After 1585, when the emperor was obliged to move to Lahore to guard against the Uzbek invasion, he paid only flying visits to this city. After 1585, the palace, left to the care of servants, appeared more or less deserted. But the city was never deserted, even if it was no longer as prosperous as in Akbar's time. Many European writers, however, wrongly maintain that the city was completely deserted and rendered desolate. The town Fatehpur Sikri, according to the census report of 1951, had a total population of 87,080 of whom 27,085 were Muslims and the rest non-Muslims. It is divided into six wards and 38 mohallas. In Akbar's time Fatehpur Sikri was a large and very flourishing town. "Agra and Fatehpur," writes Ralph Fitch, a contemporary English traveller, who visited Fatehpur Sikri in September 1585 just before Akbar had moved to Lahore, "are two very great cities, either of them much greater than London and very populous. Between Agra and Fatehpur are 12 miles (kos)[9] and all the way is a market of victuals and every thing, as full as though a man were still in a town, and so many people as if a man were in a market.........Hither is great resort of merchants from Persia and out of India, and very much merchandise of silk and cloth, and of precious stones, both Rubies, Diamonds, and Pearls."[10]

V. A. Smith thinks that "nothing like Fatehpur Sikri ever was created before or can be created again. It is 'a romance in stone'—the petrifcation of a passing mood in Akbar's strange nature, begun and finished at lightning speed while that mood lasted, inconceivable and impossible at any other time or in other circumstances. The world may well feel grateful to the despot who was capable of committing such an inspired folly.''[11]

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[9] A kos is approximately=2 miles.

[10] V. A. Smith, vide *Akbar the Great Mogul*, p. 108n, says that the population of Fatehpur might have been about 2,00,000 in 1585 as the population of London in 1580 was 1,23,034. The main cause of decay of Fatehpur was transfer of the court from there. Another equally important factor was the defective water-supply which Akbar had partly remedied by constructing a large artificial lake to the north of the mountain ridge on which the city was situated.

Akbar's other buildings

Akbar built a few other forts, such as, the forts at Lahore, Allahabad and Attock, and a palace at Ajmer. He erected numerous mosques, important among them being one in the premises of the Khwaja's shrine at Ajmer, a mosque at Merta, one at Amber, and some at other places. But these were built before 1580 and are not very important from architectural points of view. The fort at Lahore was constructed, almost at the same time as the Agra Fort, and was built on the same grand scale. According to Percy Brown, the Lahore Fort in the matter of its lay-out "generally indicates an advance on that of the Agra Fort, as it is rectangular in plan and the interior arrangements are more regularly aligned." The style of the palaces in the fort is similar to the Jahangiri Mahal in the Agra Fort with one difference "that the carved decoration was, if any thing, more vigorous and unrestrained. Elephants and lions figure in the brackets and peacocks on the friezes, from which it may be inferred that Hindu craftsmen predominated, and that the supervision of the Mughal overseers was of a very tolerant order."

The fort at Allahabad was built by Akbar in November, 1583. The original scheme embraced the construction of four forts ; but only one could be built. Much of it has disappeared except the walls and bastions and some buildings inside the walls. These remains show that the fort was of great architectural merit. The outer walls of the fort have been partly dismantled, and as for the building inside its original appearance is no longer there. This fort too, like the Agra Fort, is built after an irregular plan on account of its position at the junction of the Ganga and the Yamuna. "One noble pavilion, however, still remains intact, the Zanana palace, from which the character of the whole may be surmised. The pillars enclosing the verandah of this structure are in pairs, with two groups of four at each corner, a columniation of an unusually rich kind. Above the pillars branch out into bracket-capitals forming elaborate clusters of forms which break up the deep shadow of the eaves that they support. For its effect it depends very largely on the number and distribution of its pillars with their superstructures, and records of other buildings in this fort indicate that a peristylar arrangement was much favoured by its architect."

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[11] *Akbar the Great Mogul*, p. 445,

The fort at Attock was built in 1581 when Akbar undertook a journey to the north-west frontier to suppress the rebellion of his brother Mirza Hakim of Kabul who had invaded the Panjab. It is a massive structure, built mostly for the purpose of defence of the frontier and is not of great architectural value. It is in ruins.

Rajeshkumar Gambhava

13

Mughal Architecture

(1605-1707)

Jahangir

Akbar's building activity was so vast and varied and it carried such a long period that his son and successor Jahangir found it hard to rival him. And Jahangir (1605-1627) made no attempt to emulate his father in this respect, as he was more fond of gardens and painting than of buildings. Hence for nearly a quarter of a century there was a lull in the building activity of the Mughals. Notwithstanding all this Akbar's strenuous and unceasing activity "had given such an impetus to the art of significant building that in spite of any indifference he (Jahangir) may have shown towards the subject, it was carried along by its own momentum." Moreover it was Jahangir's solemn duty to complete his father's mausoleum the foundation of which seems to have been laid during the reign of Akbar. That is why a few notable buildings were erected during his reign, and Jahangir himself had a hand in their plan, design and execution. Naturally the first of these buildings was Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandra.

Akbar's Tomb

Nearly five miles from Agra, a little off the road to Delhi, and lying on the outskirts of a village known as Sikandra, is the mausoleum of Akbar.

The village is named after Sikandar Lodi, the first Muslim sultan of Delhi to make Agra his capital. Akbar's mausoleum is now popularly called Sikandra. It is a huge structure planned by Akbar himself ; but it took many years in building and was completed in 1613, eight years after his death. Jahangir did not like some parts of the construction and ordered these to be rebuilt. "On Monday the 17th Rajjab (1017 A.H.)," he writes, "I went on foot on my pilgrimage to the enlightened mausoleum of the late king........ When I was dignified with the good fortune of making this pilgrimage, I saw the building that had been erected in the cemetery. It did not come up to my idea of what it ought to be, for that would be approved which the way-farers of the world should point to as one the like of which was not in the inhabited world. Inasmuch as at the time of erecting the aforeside building the affair of the ill-starred Khusrau took place, I started for Lahore and the architects had built it after a design of their own. At last a certain expenditure was made until a large sum was expended and work went on for three or four years. I ordered that experienced architects should again lay the foundations, in agreement with men of experience, in several places, on a settled plan. By degrees a lofty building was erected, and a very bright garden was arranged round the building of the shrine, and a large and lofty gateway with minarets of white stone was built. On the whole they told me the cost of this lofty edifice was fifteen lakhs of rupees, equivalent to 50,000 current *tumans* of Persia and 45,00,000 *khanis*, according to the currency of Turan."[1] From this passage it is clear that Jahangir not only pulled down certain parts of the mausoleum and rebuilt them, but that he also made some changes in the plan itself. The building seems to have remained under construction for 20 years, and it was completed in 1613.

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[1] *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, translated by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. I, pp 151-52.

This mausoleum is not a conventional Muslim tomb ; it is quite unlike any other ever built in this country. In design it is like a Buddhist Vihar or monastery. The tomb is of a pyramidal form, 100 feet high, and stands on a high terrace in the centre of a very extensive and well-laid-out garden. The garden occupies an area of more than a mile in circuit and is enclosed by a high and battlemented wall, 3½ furlongs on each side and 24 feet in height, having gates opening on four sides. Three of these gates are blind, or false gateways built only for the sake of symmetry, but that on the south is the principal entrance. All these gateways are colossal structures of great elegance. The main gateway is the most beautiful of them all, with its pleasing proportions and bold inlaid ornamentation. Its beauty is set off by four graceful minarets of white marble, one at each corner. According to Percy Brown no other monument in northern India had an elegant minaret of this type before Akbar's tomb was built at Sikandra. It is a matter of pride that the early architects of Agra added to our architectural heritage a minaret of such workmanship, not "as an experiment, but perfectly developed in its exact and final form." The double arched gateway is embellished on both sides with inlay work of exquisite beauty. Latif observes that the stately height and grandeur of the gateway is such that it might be mistaken for a palace. There were at each of the four corners of the garden-wall grim-looking powerful octagonal bastions, surmounted by domed kiosks, three of which can still be seen.

The mausoleum itself is a five-storeyed structure and looks like "a low truncated pyramid," each storey of which grows smaller than the one below it. It stands on a raised platform 339 feet square. The first storey measures 320 ft. on each side, exclusive of the angle towers and is 30 feet high. Each face of this storey has in the centre a fine arched entrance adorned with a beautiful mosaic in marble with five spacious arches on either side. Behind the gateway of the southern facade of the ground floor of the mausoleum lies the tomb-chamber, access to which is obtained through a corridor. The entrance to the corridor is through a splendid vestibule which is decorated with frescos of exquisite beauty. In the middle of the crypt, and set in the centre of the ground floor, is a white marble sepulchre enshrining the remains of the great emperor. The sarcophagus standing on a raised plinth, 13 ft. by 8 ft., is a plain structure without any decoration. The mortuary chamber itself is plain, but its walls were probably covered with murals of which Akbar was very fond. Four small windows in the walls of the dome admit feeble light into the chamber. Havell thinks that the plan of the ground floor is self-contained and so well designed that it must have been the work of Akbar himself and must have been built during the last years of this reign.

The second storey measures 186 feet each side and is 14 feet 9 inches high. It is far more ornamented than the building on the ground floor and, like the latter, consists of pillared arcades and kiosks. The kiosks number twentyfive on each side and are surmounted by octagonal domes of white marble. The third storey is 15 feet 2 inches high and is embellished by twelve pavilions, three on each side. The fourth is 14 feet 6 inches high. On the top of the fourth storey is a white-marble square enclosure 157 feet on each side, that is, just half the length of the terrace immediately beneath it. From each corner of the enclosure rises a handsome open pavilion surmounted by a dome. The walls of the enclosure are "entirely composed of marble trellis-work of the most beautiful patterns." The enclosure has within it an open court in the centre of which stands an exquisitely carved cenotaph. On the walls of the enclosure there is a variety of geometrical designs of intricate workmanship. The panels and perforated marble work are of marvellous richness and variety. The walls of the enclosure have 36 arched doors, 9 on each side, and on the spandrel of each is inscribed a Persian couplet. There are, thus, 36 couplets in all. These were written in praise of Akbar's beneficent rule, his love of justice, the impermanence of the world and the immortality of God. The white marble cenotaph in the centre of the enclosure is the false tombstone and lies exactly in the same position as the real one in the lowest terrace. It is cut out of one solid block of purest white marble and is elegantly carved with arabesque tracery of the most delicate design representing variety of flowers scattered over a snow-white sheet of cloth. At the head of the tombstone is inscribed in bold relief the expression 'Allah-hu-Akbar' (God is Great) and at its foot 'Jall-e-Jalal-Hu' (Magnificent is His glory). There is at the head of the tombstone a small half pillar with a circular niche or cavity for receiving a golden censer. The block at the base of the tombstone is decorated by mosaic pavement of white and black marble. Ninetynine attributes or names of God are inscribed in Arabic characters, on both sides of the sarcophagus.

Fergusson was of the opinion that the original design of the upper storey must have included a dome at the top without which the monument "has a truncated and unmeaning aspect." "The total height," he writes, "of the building now is a little more than 100 feet to the top of the angle pavilions, and the central dome 30 or 40 feet higher, which is the proportion that the base gives, seems just what is wanted to make this tomb as beautiful in outline and in poportion as it is in detail. Had it been so completed, it certainly would have ranked next to the Taj, among Indian mausolea."[2] But Percy Brown feels that the monument, as it is including its upper storey, is complete. "In many respects," he, says "the unroofed terrace and its refined treatment is an appropriate finish to the building as a whole.........."[3]

In the interior arrangement, too, Akbar's mausoleum differs materially from other Muslim tombs. Generally speaking, Muslim tombs in this country are built on a plan having a crypt meant for the internment of the body and above it, a building containing the tomb chamber with its cenotaph. But instead of the "subterranean vault" Akbar's mausoleum has a

[2] Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II, (2nd ed.), p. 309.

[3] *The Indian Architecture* (Islamic Period), 103.

"high domed hall, almost on ground level, which takes the place of crypt and tomb-chamber combined." The entrance to the mortuary chamber is through a portico on the south side and the chamber is reached by a long and sloping corridor. In the centre of a 30-feet square chamber and beneath a simple unornamented tombstone lies buried the great emperor. Contrary to Muslim practice, according to which the dead man's face is turned in the direction of Mecca, Akbar's face is turned to the east, that is, towards the rising sun.

The famous Italian traveller, Manucci, relates that in 1691 Akbar's bones were dug out of his grave by the Jats and burnt after the Hindu fashion. If the story, which is not corroborated by any other contemporary authority, be true, the great mausoleum at Sikandra now stands over an empty grave. The mausoleum is, nevertheless, a fitting monument to the memory of one who occupies the same place among sovereigns as Shakespeare does among poets.

This mausoleum has evoked different feelings and comments. Percy Brown, while commending its final storey which according to him is unsurpassed for its "delicacy and finish," considers the monument as a whole disappointing. "It is unimpressive," he says, "because it lacks the quality of mass which is one of the principles of beauty, and of coherence which is the basis of style. The last terrace is a notable conception substantial yet not heavy, a suitable foundation inviting an imposing superstructure to be erected on its broad platform. But the opportunity was not taken. Instead of a solid and dignified building above, consistent with this ponderous base, there arises a light and almost frivolous array of arcades and kiosks, more appropriate in a summer palace than forming the principal part of a royal mausoleum." Fergusson thinks that if there had been a dome at the top instead of the enclosed but open court, the building would have ranked next only to the Taj Mahal. Count Von Noer, on the other hand, observes that "as Akbar was unique among his contemporaries, so was his place of burial among other Indian tombs—indeed, one may say with confidence, among the sepulchres of all Asia." Syed Muhammad

Latif endorses the above view. "Like the countless memorials of his (Akbar's) beneficent rule, like the numberless good works of his long and happy reign, the stone symbol of his creative genius which enshrines his mortal remains will ever stand the admiration of the whole world. Lofty as was Akbar in soul, great as was his might and magnificence, he has a monument to himself equally great, rich in variety of detail, copious in its amazing beauties, charming in the juxtaposition of its various parts. It is due to the fertile imagination and broad mind possessed by this great souled man that centuries after his death travellers from the remotest regions of earth are moved to enthusiasm by the mere sight of his mausoleum, the monument of his own genius."[4] Sleeman too was moved by almost the same feelings when he recorded : "I revered the marble slate that covers his (Akbar's) bones, more perhaps than I should one of any other sovereign with whose history I am acquainted." E. W. Smith also expressed the view that the mausoleum "is certainly unique of its kind in India and has no parallel among Persian or other Saracenic monuments." E. B. Havell endorses this view and says that "Akbar's tomb is a worthy monument of one of the greatest of Indian rulers."

The excellence of Akbar's mausoleum lies in its being a cosmopolitan structure and in keeping with Akbar's catholicity and universalism. It is not a Muslim building, nor even purely Hindu or Buddhist. It is a fine example of the harmonious blending of the Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim and Christian styles of architecture. But the preponderating influence is that of the Buddhist architecture. That was perhaps why Fergusson believed that Akbar's mausoleum was a direct imitation of the old Buddhist Viharas. The tomb at Sikandra is "a monument to the great statesman and thinker, one of the few who have tried to harmonise the jarring discords of the world's contending sects and creeds, and to found an universal religion upon a synthesis of all of them. It was a happy idea to plan his monument upon the Indian tradition of a many storeyed assembly hall, where the philosophers of old have been wont to meet for debating metaphysical and religious questions, the same plan which Akbar himself had taken for his audience hall at Fatehpur Sikri, where he met all the doctors of Islam, of Hinduism, of Judaism, and of Christianity, and listened to their disputations." (E. B. Havell)

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[4] Syed Muhammad Latif, *Agra, Historical and Descriptive* (1896), p. 168.

Mariam-uz-Zamani's tomb

There is another important mausoleum at Sikandra, at a distance of about 2 furlongs from Akbar's tomb. It is popularly known as the Baradari of Sikandar Lodi and the tomb of Akbar's Christian wife. But Akbar had no Christian wife and neither the tomb in the vault below nor the white marble cenotaph in the centre of the upper storey has the mark of a cross above it. The late Edmund W. Smith, Archaeological Surveyor of the North-West Provinces and Oudh, had the crypt opened up to find out whether the tomb was that of a Christian; but he did not find any trace of a cross. The misunderstanding seems to have arisen from the fact that Akbar's Rajput queen, who became the mother of Jahangir, bore the posthumous title of Mariam-uz-Zamani, and she was interred in this mausoleum. It was imagined by all later writers, that as she was named Mariam she must have been a Christian lady. Muhammadans rever Mary or Mariam and they associate her name with their women; for example, Akbar's mother after her death was given the title of Mariam-Makani or the one dwelling with Mary.

Quite recently an attempt has been made to indentify this building with the tomb of Sikandar Lodi. In an article contributed to the Agra College Journal of History and Political Science, Vol. II, Capt. S. Mukherjea contents that Sikandar Lodi had constructed this building and was buried here. He relies on the guess of Carlleyle and the similarity of this building with the Lodi tombs as described by Wheeler. According to Wheeler, "the outline of the Lodi tomb was, thus, strong and coherent, and its strength was not infrequently emphasized by a ruggedness of masonry that was thinly disguised by plaster work of tiles.'' This description would not apply to the mausoleum in question.

Captain Mukherjea's view that the material used in the construction of the building and the form of its domes and the absence of inlay-work prove the building to be of Lodi origin is erroneous. The domes are in the early Mughal style ; the wide eaves on all the four sides of the mausoleum and ornamental corbel brackets supporting them, the shape and workmanship of the pillars of the pavilions on the top, the carvings therein and figures of animals in stone in the corner pavilions and other ornamentation show that this building was erected in the time of Akbar or in the early years of the reign of Jahangir. At any rate, Sikandar Lodi, a most fanatical Musalman and breaker of countless temples and images, including that commemorating the birth place of Lord Krishna in Mathura, would never have liked to be considered guilty of incorporating Hindu form and motifs and above all animal figures in his mausoleum. Moreover it is clear from the size and form of the grave in the crypt and of the canotaph on the roof that the grave is that of a female. The grave in cement measures 5 feet 6 inches by 2 feet 4 inches and the cenotaph on the roof is 8 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 6 inches and they are too small a burial place for a tall and strong man like Sikandar Lodi. Moreover, the tomb and the cenotaph do not bear the '*takhti*' mark that distinguishes the grave of a male from that of a female. It is, therefore, certain that this tomb is that of a noble lady. There is no warrant for rejecting the tradition that this mausoleum enshrines the remains of Mariam-uz-Zamani, mother of Jahangir. It resembles her husband's mausoleum in one important respect, namely, that the upper storey of both is open to the sun and rain and its upper corners are embellished by beautiful pavilions surmounted by lovely domes.

This mausoleum is a square building of red sand-stone and bricks, 145 feet on each side, and 39 feet in height. It stands on a high plinth in the centre of a walled garden which is now a wilderness of corn fields. The mausoleum has four gates, one on each side. The northern facade contains the main entrance which is a broad arched gateway with three small arches on either side of it. The central arch is decorated with a stone scroll and other ornamental designs. The mausoleum on all its sides has wide eaves which are supported by stone brackets. All the four sides of the building are decorated with patterns of water jugs in relief. The mausoleum is a two-storeyed building with a vault below. A gallery runs through the entire building from east to west, and on all sides of the gallery there are more than 40 chambers with vaulted roofs in the style of semi-domes. The entrance to the crypt is through a rectangular door in the centre of the southern corridor below the pavement. The crypt measures 10 feet 5 inches each side and is 8 feet 11 inches in height. In the centre of the crypt is a small tomb in cement measuring 5 feet 6 inches by 2 feet 4 inches. It is just a few inches above the ground, The crypt is surrounded by 8 chambers measuring 52 feet 8 inches each side. The walls inside have no decoration of any kind. The upper storey consists of a flat roof with a white marble cenotaph in the centre. It measures 8 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 6 inches and is 2 feet 8 inches in height. There are on the top of the arched gateway four open kiosks each supported on eight pillars and surrounded by beautiful eaves and corbel brackets. Each corner of the building is surmounted by an ornamental octagonal tower with a circular dome on its top. The interior and the exterior of the corner pavilions are richly carved. The base and capitals of the pillars are ornamented and the plinth of the pavilions is decorated with carved tracery. The corner pavilions have also figures of animals in relief.

In 1857, the mausoleum was made over by the government to the Church Missionary Society and it remained in the Society's possession for more than 50 years. The building is now under the care of the Archaeological Department, but it does not receive the attention commensurate with its architectural and historical importance.

Itmad-ud-Daulah

Another remarkable building erected at Agra during Jahangir's reign is the tomb of Itmad-ud-Daulah, father of Nur Jahan and Asaf Khan and father-in-law of Emperor Jahangir. It is considered "the connecting link between the style of Akbar and that of Shahjahan," and was built by Nur Jahan in 1626. It is situated on the left bank of the Yamuna across the Yamuna bridge, and at a distance of nearly two miles from the fort. The mausoleum stands in the midst of parterres tanks and fountains on a sand-stone terrace 149 feet square and three to four feet high. It is placed in the centre of a lovely garden within a quadrangular enclosure of sand-stone, measuring 540 feet and having handsome red sand-stone gateways on all sides. It is a double storeyed building, the ground floor of which is square in plan, each side of which is 70 feet in length, and consists of a central structure "with broad octagonal towers in the form of minarets thrown out from each angle and a small pavilion, or a kind of upper storey, rising above the roof. The arched openings on each side produce an appearance of depth, while cornices on brackets and a wide eave to the upper portion provide horizontal lines and shadows emphasizing the sense of quiet peacefulness which pervades the conception as a whole."

The main hall is a parallelogram and measures 22 ft. and 3 inches on each side. The floor of the hall is built of marble and is richly decorated with mosaic work. In this hall are the tombs of Itmad-ud-Daulah and his wife. These are made of 'a yellow variety of porphyry' and are highly polished and decorated. There are inscriptions on the walls of the hall in Tughra character from the Quran and other Islamic scriptures. On all sides of this central chamber are a series of rooms and passages corresponding to an enclosed verandah. In these rooms are the tombs of other members of the family of Itmad-ud-Daulah.

The pavilion above is a square compartment whose walls are formed of screens of the finest marble tracery, and the floor is a polished pavement decorated with coloured inlay 'in patterns of bewildering diversity.' "As an example of architecture in miniature," writes Percy Brown, "this building with its accessories of garden and gateways, is one of the most perfect of its kind, while its fineness is enhanced by the exquisite white marble of which the central structure is entirely composed. Then, although elaborately ornamented, the embellishment throughout has been carefully sub-ordinated to the architectural effect, there is little relief work, most of the surface being delicately coloured by means of inlaid stones. The result of such treatment is that an undue brilliancy of the white marble is subdued by the subtle tints of the inlay which spins its fine filaments over other portions, often in painted patterns only, excelled by those of a butterfly's wing. Much of this ornamentation of applied stones was produced by a technical process different from that which had preceded it, so that these later Jahangiri buildings not only mark a change in the architectural style but also in the method of decoration. Hitherto the inlaid work has been of the kind known as *opus dura* in which hard and rare stones such as lapis, onyx, jasper, topaz, cornelian and the like, were embedded in the marble in graceful foliations. The tomb of Itmad-ud-Daulah prefigured that phase of white marble garnished with gold and precious stones which distinguishes the finer and the most sumptuous architectural creations of the Mughals."[5]

Itmad-ud-Daulah is the first Mughal building to have been made entirely of white marble. It is on this building that *pietra dura* inlay was for the first time used. It possesses all the refined feminine grace of its author, Nur Jahan Begum. Critics consider it unexcelled by any other monument except the Taj Mahal.

The last building associated with Jahangir is his own mausoleum at Shahdara near Lahore. It is likely that the monument was designed by Jahangir himself, but it was completed under the supervision of his queen Nur Jahan. The mausoleum is built somewhat on the same lines as Akbar's tomb at Sikandra. But it is less lofty and lacks the superstructure of the Sikandra mausoleum. The building is a single storey and is in the form of a square terrace 22 feet high. It has a handsome minaret on each corner, and "there was originally a marble pavilion placed in the middle of the platform above, which, when in *situ,* would have offered a central point of interest." The pavilion was destroyed some time in the 19th century and, therefore, as it is at present "the whole composition is singularly ineffective." The monument is characterised by profuse decoration, particularly by the use of lavish inlaid marbles, glazed tiles and painted patterns. Some of these decorations are in excellent taste. Nevertheless they do not by themselves redeem the architectural defects of the monument.

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[5] Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Islamic Period), p. 104.

Another monument erected during Jahangir's reign is the tomb of Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan. It is an elegant building and seems to have been built after the style of Humayun's tomb near which it is situated at Delhi. But the Khan Khanan's tomb differs from that of Humayun in one important respect, namely, "that the wings of the facade have been simplified so that the plan instead of being octagonal, is a plain square." In all other directions both designs are almost identical. The Khan Khanan's tomb is built on a terrace having 17 arched recesses on each side. The building of the mausoleum which stands above the platform of the terrace has much the same distribution as Humayun's mausoleum. This tomb shows that Persian influence was still there at the end of Jahangir's reign.

Shahjahan

Akbar's grandson Shahjahan (1628-1658) was perhaps the greatest builder among the rulers of the Mughal dynasty. His taste differed greatly from that of Akbar as is evident from a reversion to Persianised form and motif. He preferred to build in white marble, which was plentiful in the quarries of Makrana near the Sambhar lake in Rajasthan. After demolishing the rectangular buildings of the reign of his father and grandfather, Shahjahan raised over them pavilions, courts and columned halls. The rectangular character of the early buildings was thus superseded by "the curved line and flowing rhythm of the style of Shahjahan" in the construction of which "the chisel of the stone carver was replaced by the finer instruments of the marble cutter and the polisher." "But perhaps the more striking innovation was the change in the shape of the arch which, in almost all buildings of Shahjahan's reign, is foliated or cusped in its outlines, so that white marble arcades of engrailed arches became the distinguishing characteristic of the period." The result was a new group of white-marble buildings in the Agra fort, such as, the Diwan-i-Am, the Diwan-i-Khas, the Khas Mahal, the Shish Mahal, the Musamman Burj, the Anguri Bagh, the Machhi Bhawan, and the Moti Masjid.

The Diwan-i-Am

The Diwan-i-Am is situated to the right of the second large courtyard which the visitor enters after leaving the Amar Singh gate behind. It is an open and spacious building erected by Shahjahan in 1628 with rows of double columns, numbering 40. The hall is open on three sides, and is 201 ft. long and 67 ft. broad, and its roofs are supported by three rows of high pillars placed at regular intervals. The pillars are connected by beautiful marble arches so that the final effect is one of sustained grandeur. In the centre of the fourth side of the hall is an elevated long niche or gallery which is built of white marble, richly decorated with *pietra dura* work and flowers and foliage in low relief. In this gallery or alcove, the emperor sat on a throne. In the hall just below the royal alcove, was a raised platform which served as the seat of the Grand Wazir or prime minister. In the time of Shahjahan the imperial throne was made of pure gold and jewels and was known as the Takht-i-Taus or the Peacock Throne. It was built under the superintendence of Bebadal Khan, and was 3¼ yards long, 2½ yards broad and 5 yards high. The ceiling of the canopy was "enamelled and had only a few precious stones set here and there ; but the outside was covered with rubies, yaquts and other gems. Twelve pillars of emerald supported this roof. Above it were placed two figures of peacocks ornamented with jewels and between them a tree set with rubies, diamonds and emeralds and pearls. Three jewelled steps led to the emperor's seat, which was surrounded on eleven sides with jewelled planks, serving as railings; (the twelfth was open, being in front of the emperor and just above the steps). Of these eleven panels the most splendid was the middle one, on which the emperor rested his arm in reclining......Apart from the salary of the craftsmen, in its material alone, the throne cost one crore of rupees."

To the emperor's right and left stood his sons and grandsons, they took their seats only after they were permitted to do so. In the hall, which was lavishly decorated and charged with rich perfumes, stood in order of their dignity, rows of courtiers, nobles and officers, their backs flanking the three open sides. "Those who attended on the emperor's person were stationed on his right and left near the two pillars close to the alcove, their backs being turned to the wall. Facing the emperor, stood the chief officers of the state, rank behind rank, according to their gradation. The royal standard bearers, holding the golden banners and *taugh* and *qur*, were drawn up on the emperor's left with their backs to the wall......Silver railing fenced it (Diwan-i-Am) round on the three sides with only three openings in them."

As the Diwan-i-Am was not spacious enough for the huge concourse of people who attended the Durbar, the space on three sides of it "was enclosed with railing of painted wood on which velvet canopies which were richly embroidered with gold were spread. Here stood all men below commanders of 200, archers of the guard, musketeers, and some of the retainers of the nobles, when they attended the Durbar. At the doors of the hall and of the two railings (silver and wooden) trustworthy mace-bearers and sergeants-at-arms in their splendid uniforms kept guard, excluding strangers and persons who had no entry at court."

After the British occupation of Agra in 1803, the Diwan-i-Am was for some time used as an arsenal. In 1876 Sir John Strachey restored the building. During the Great Rebellion of

1857-58 the fort was the scene of great activity. John Colvin, who was then the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, died in 1858 and was buried in a corner of the courtyard in front of the Diwan-i-Am.

Machhi Bhawan

At the back of the Diwan-i-Am is situated the Machhi Bhawan, which is an oblong elaborate edifice carved in red sand-stone. In the centre of the building is a courtyard 60 yards long and 55 yards broad. Overlooking this courtyard is the first floor having on all the four sides an open gallery of beautifully carved pillars and arches in stucco polished to egg-shell whiteness.

Along the three sides of the Machhi Bhawan on the ground floor stood lofty buildings and offices, the most important of which was the treasury of jewels. To the south of Machhi Bhawan courtyard "is an umbrella-like embossed pavilion of white marble on four pillars in extreme elaboration and purity." There was a golden throne set inside this pavilion. In the courtyard were many tanks and reservoirs of white marble. These were filled with water from the Yamuna and served as fishing pools for the amusement of members of the royal family. The material used in the construction of these tanks and reservoirs was pillaged and carried away by Suraj Mal Jat to Deeg where he built himself a garden house with many beautiful palaces known as the Bhavans of Deeg. Machhi Bhawan is now in a dilapidated condition, and its tanks and reservoirs have been filled up with earth.

Diwan-i-Khas

The Diwan-i-Khas lies to the north-west of the Machhi Bhawan and is built on an elevated terrace overlooking the Yamuna. It was a private audience hall to which only selected nobility and the highest officials were summoned. It is an oblong building of white marble, 64 feet 9 inches long, 34 feet broad and 22 feet high. It consists of two halls which join an open marble gallery of equal size by an arched colonnade. The halls are an exquisite piece of architecture. The pillars and arches are beautifully carved and inlaid, and the walls are ornamented with reliefs of vases, flowers and foliage. These were originally overlaid with gold and adorned with mosaics in precious stones. Critics consider the Diwan-i-Khas as one of the most graceful halls ever built. "The middle of the dado of this hall is embossed, the borders are inlaid with cornelians and corals, and the ceiling is like that of its Tamli-Khana." On the south side of the hall there is a lengthy Persian inscription which gives in a chronogram the date of its construction which according to the rules of *abjad* is the year 1045 A.H. It was in this hall that the Maratha king Shivaji was received in audience by Aurangzeb in 1666. Hurt at the cold reception and feeling greatly insulted, Shivaji left the hall and sat behind a pillar in the verandah nearby which was a flagrant breach of all rules of courtly etiquette. A year before this incident, the mortal remains of Shahjahan, the builder of this exquisite edifice, were shrouded and placed in a coffin in the Diwan-i-Khas and carried to be interred in the Taj Mahal.

In front of the Diwan-i-Khas there is a courtyard, 41 yards long and 29 yards broad, having on the western edge a marble platform on which Shah Jahan used to sit in the evening. To the east of this is a throne of black marble used by Jahangir when he rebelled against his father and set himself up as sovereign at Allahabad.

The Shish Mahal

Beneath the Diwan-i-Khas is situated the Shish-Mahal, a delightful chamber, the doors and walls of which were adorned with glass mosaics and in gold and other colours. This chamber had two reservoirs, one of which was filled with water from a canal ten yards long and one yard broad. This water flowed into the second reservoir which was bigger than the first and was stored there. Under the courtyard facing the Diwan-i-Khas were the treasure rooms for the safe keeping of gold coins (asharfis).

Facing the hall of Diwan-i-Khas, there was another hall, 25 yards long and 5½ yards broad. Adjacent to this second hall stood a Hammam or Turkish Bath consisting of several buildings, which overlooked the Yamuna, the garden at the foot of the Jharokha-i-Darshan and similar other gardens on the opposite bank of the river. The interior and exterior of the bath and its several apartments were embellished with inlay, relief, glass mosaics and other ornamental work. "In the centre of the large chamber there is an intricate reservoir like the mirror of the pure heart of the enlightened, with fountains playing on all sides. On the river side of the dressing rooms, and the hot and cold bath rooms, the Aleppo glasses have been so disposed that the river and the said gardens are all in view. The arches and doors of the Hammam have with Aleppo glasses added to the beauty of other wonders."

The Khas Mahal

Adjacent to the Diwan-i-Khas and to the right of the Jahangiri Mahal stands on an elevation overlooking the Yamuna, the Khas Mahal or the imperial palace meant exclusively for the residence of the emperor and his queen. This, too, was built by Shahjahan before he laid the foundation of Shahjahanabad (Delhi). The sub-structures of the Khas Mahal are of red sand-stone and were, at one time, washed by the waters of the Yamuna which has now receded about a quarter of a mile further away from the fort. The upper structure of the palace, its chambers, corridors and pavilions are built of white marble. The royal bed chamber measures 26 yards by 10½ yards. "Its walls upto dado and pillars are covered with reliefs, and the marginal lines inlaid with a variety of stones," and its ceiling painted in gold and other bright colours. The building is flanked on the right and left by two beautiful golden pavilions with sloping roofs and cusped arches, and is open on two sides. Its roof is surmounted on the river side by two small but extremely lovely golden cupolas. It is enriched with elaborate carving and fine ornamentation of flowers and festoons in relief. Florentine mosaics and gilded painting decorate the ceiling and the domes. The inlay work, paintings and exquisite carving give an elegant appearance to this lovely mansion. Its luxurious pavilions "glitter all over with jasper, cornelian, lapis-lazuli, agate and blood-stone, and the balconies and terraces are wrought in open patterns of such rich designs that, according to an American traveller, 'they resemble the fringes of lace when seen from below.' The adaptation of one part to another, the perfect harmony prevailing in the various sections of the building, the richness of style, and above all, its elegance, are proof of the taste of the author, and fill the curious observer with a sense of admiration and awe. No chamber, no pavilion, no terrace or window is wanting, and it seems as if the imperial halls have just been vacated by their occupiers, and are ready to be repeopled with the household of the great emperor. They bring vividly before the eye a living picture of the daily routine of his public duties and his private pursuits and domestic life."

Inside a balcony attached to the palace and overlooking the river, were portraits of the Mughal emperors and their ancestors from Timur to Shahjahan. On the walls of the Khas Mahal there was a fine inscription in Persian, most of which has now peeled off, saying that the palace was built by Shahjahan and the like of which never existed on earth. It gives, according to *abjad* rules the year of its construction as 1046 A.H., which corresponds to 1636 A.D. At the back of the chamber is a marble parlour, 15 yards long and 8½ yards broad, and on two sides of which are two royal seats. There is a courtyard 80 yards square, in front of the bed chamber, in the centre of which is a tank with fine fountains playing in it.

The Anguri Bagh

In front of the Khas Mahal was situated the Anguri Garden, 235 feet long and 170 feet broad, with three sets of chambers on three sides. The buildings originally erected by Akbar were remodelled and rebuilt by Shahjahan, and were meant for the ladies of the Mughal harem. On the fourth side there was a spacious marble pavilion. In the courtyard was laid out a fine garden known as the Anguri Bagh. With many fountains playing therein as in all Mughal gardens, it was divided into four squares, which were in the form of terraces placed on a slope for the easy distribution of water.

The Jharokha-i-Darshan

Midway between the imperial palace (Khas Mahal) and the Octagonal Tower was the Jharokha-i-Darshan, made of white marble. It had gilded roofs which shone in sunlight. Every morning 48 minutes after sunrise the emperor used to appear before his expectant subjects who assembled in the open space down below, and bowed to their sovereign as he appeared at the window. The emperor thus came into daily contact with the common people who could submit their complaints directly to him without any hindrance from the officials. The petitions were drawn up by a string and placed before the emperor, who decided the cases then and there. He also sometimes witnessed elephant fights from the Jharokha-i-Darshan. This kind of amusement was an imperial prerogative. Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan took special delight in watching fights between ferocious animals.

The Octagonal Tower

The Musamman Burj or Octagonal Tower was originally called the Shah Burj. This exquisite structure of white marble built by Shahjahan lies to the north of the Khas Mahal and hangs "like a fairy bower over the green rampart" of the fort. It is a four-storeyed building eight yards in diameter, the topmost storey is of pure white marble and most elaborately carved and inlaid. Attached to it is a fine portico in the centre of which stands a lovely sunken fountain placed in a reservoir, rosepetalled in shape. In the room in front there is an elegant water-fall. The water flowed through a narrow passage on a beautifully carved white marble stone slab and then into a covered canal. From the Musamman Burj ladies of the Mughal harem would watch the animal fights held in the open space below. The emperor took his seat on the marble throne on the opposite side. It was in this tower that Shahjahan breathed his last with his eyes turned towards the glittering Taj—the mausoleum of his beloved queen—his affectionate daughter Jahanara, sitting by his side.

In the garden below the Octagonal Tower and the Jharokha-i-Darshan, two marble statues of Rana Amar Singh and his son Karan Singh on elephants were placed by Jahangir. These were destroyed at the command of the fanatical Aurangzeb.

The private mosque in the Fort

There are three white marble mosques in the fort all of which were built by Shahjahan. The first of these is a small white marble structure without domes or minarets. Nor does it have a pulpit for the Imam. It stands to the right in front of the Khas Mahal and can be approached from that palace as well as from the Diwan-i-Khas. In this mosque Shahjahan said his early morning prayers. He sat meditating on the prayer carpet until it was time for the morning prayer (*fajar*).

Nagina Masjid

In the north-west corner of the Machhi Bhawan is situated the Nagina Masjid which is a small but handsome mosque built entirely of white marble. It is said to have been erected for the ladies of the harem, and is considered to have been a counterpart of the more elegant Moti Masjid of Shahjahan. But there can be no comparison between this small, though beautiful, edifice and Shahjahan's later masterpiece which remains unexcelled for its exquisiteness. Connected with this small mosque are a set of chambers in which Shahjahan was kept confined by his over-ambitious son, Aurangzeb. The guide points out the small room where the ex-emperor used to live "with little to console his heart except the sight before him of the monument raised by his own genius to the memory of the wife of his youth, the renowned lady of the Taj."

In front of the western gate leading to the ground floor of these buildings is a beautiful lawn which was once the site of a well laid out flower garden. It was in this garden that prince Salim (afterwards Jahangir) chanced to see Mehr-un-Nisa, (afterwards Nurjahan), and fell in love with her at first sight.

Moti Masjid

The prettiest structure in the Agra Fort is the celebrated Moti Masjid or the Pearl Mosque. It is situated on an elevated terrace in a spacious courtyard to the north of the Diwan-i-Am. Access to the courtyard is obtained through an arched gateway of red sand-stone. Passing through this the visitor comes to a wall with two small doorways either of which leads, after a long flight of steps, to the gate of the mosque. The mosque measures 187 feet by 237 feet. It was built in 1654 when the Mughal art had reached the zenith of its glory, thus fully justifying its name, 'Pearl Mosque'. "Few religious edifices," writes Percy Brown, "convey to the beholder a finer sense of purity than this Chapel Royal, which, both on account of the flawless quality of its material, and skilfully modulated disposition of its elements, represents the Mughal style at its zenith. The subordination and contrast of the entrance archways to the arcading of the sanctuary, the proportions and arrangement of the kiosks surmounting the cornices, and, notably, the subtle raising of the drum of the centre dome in relation to those of either side, are a few only of the aspects of this structure which show in a more emphatic manner that the principles of balance and rhythm were, by this time, thoroughly appreciated by the Mughal builders."

The square court of the mosque is paved with large white flags and is surrounded by an exquisite gallery and colonnade, both made of the same material. In the courtyard, in front of the mosque, stands a beautiful fountain. There is a sun-dial on a stone platform in the south-east corner. The mosque is connected with private apartments of the palace by staircases on both sides. It has side rooms, separated by marble lattice-work, to enable the ladies of the harem to say their prayers there without being seen by the people in the mosque below. There is a Persian inscription in the black marble lettering over the front arch of the mosque giving the date of its construction, (1063 A.H. or 1653 A.D.) The foundation of the mosque was laid in 1648 and the building was completed in 1653. It cost three lakhs of rupees in the currency of Shahjahan's time.

Percy Brown pays an eloquent tribute to Shahjahan's architectural achievements. Referring to the white marble building erected by this monarch he says that all these were described by contemporary writers in a highly ornate style. "But even the most ardent flatterer," he adds, "trained in poetical analogies, could barely do justice to the surpassing beauty of some of these structures, which in spite of vicissitudes still hold their own as the most elegant of their kind. What could be more graceful than the hall of the Diwan-i-Khas with its series of double columns, or Musamman Burj, hanging like a fairy bower over the grim ramparts ? Even these, however, are excelled by the peerless refinement of the Moti Masjid or 'Pearl Mosque,' one of Shahjahan's latest additions..." He concludes by observing that the proud boast that Emperor Augustus found Rome of brick and left it of marble, is equally applicable to Shahjahan who found the Mughal cities of sand-stone and left them of marble.

The Jama Masjid

Near the Agra Fort (metre gauge) railway station and about a furlong opposite to the principal gateway of the fort, stands the famous Jama Masjid. It was built by Jahanara Begum, the elder and most favourite daughter of Shahjahan. It is situated on a raised platform and is built of red sand-stone. The building is surrounded by a colonnade, also made of red sand-stone. The main building is 103 feet long and 100 feet broad. It is divided into three compartments and is surmounted by three beautiful domes whose exterior is decorated with white marble and red sand-stone inlay work. It is supported by rows of arches. There are five archways in the front. The central archway is larger than the two on each side and they all open on a spacious courtyard. The larger archway in the centre is 40 feet wide. "At each corner of the roof stands an octagonal domed cupola, and the front is adorned with a row of smaller square cupolas of great beauty. From the four corners of the roof of the central apartment rise four slender minarets, and from its rear three large domes, inlaid with wide bands alternately of red sand-stone and white marble." In the opinion of Percy Brown, although the Jama mosque is not as perfect a structure as its counterpart in Delhi owing to its low position and the timid contours of its domes, "its free open frontage bringing everything into view, its rippling succession of kiosks of varying sizes which crown its parapets, the interesting passages of shadow thrown by its chhattris and turrets, the warm broken colour of its masonry, produce an effect of a singularly pleasing kind. It is a mosque evidently built for the benefit of the people, its shady cloisters, informal resting places and alcoved retreats are an open invitation to all and sundry to spend a quiet hour within its precincts."

An inscription in the mosque shows that it was built in 1058 A.H. or 1648 A.D. at a cost of five lakhs of rupees. It was five years in building.

As in the Agra Fort so in that of Lahore Shahjahan made several important changes. There also he demolished red sand-stone buildings and erected those of white marble. Some of these are : the Hall of Forty Pillars, now known as Diwan-i-Am, the Musamman Burj, including the Shish Mahal, the Naulakha, the Khwab Gah and all other buildings towards the north-west portion inside the fort.

The City of Shahjahanabad

In 1638 Shahjahan laid the foundation of a new city at

Delhi which he named Shahjahanabad after his own name. Within the walls of this city he built a large red fort on the right bank of the Yamuna. The city is in the form of a quadrant with the fortress at its apex overlooking the river. The city was built after a well laid-out plan. "Two wide thoroughfares rediate from the main gates of the fortress to those in the city walls, and in the angle thus formed was placed the Jami Masjid." The fort, known popularly as the Red Fort, is a parallelogram running north and south, 1600 ft. by 3200 ft. It is enclosed by a formidable wall of the same type as the one at the Agra Fort, but more delicate and probably less strong. The fort has three gateways of which the main or the ceremonial gate is of great architectural value, and the other two are a private gateway and a river gateway. Inside the fort are private and public Darbar Halls, a private enclosure having residential palaces with ornamental gardens, royal store rooms, regalia chambers, kitchens, horse and elephant stables and other minor amenities pertaining to the royal establishment. There are besides shops and other facilities, barracks for the guards and accommodation for the retinue attached to the imperial family.

As one enters the main gate, one comes across a large space divided into apartments to provide accommodation for the royal retinue. The next prominent building is that of the music gatehouse or *Naubatkhana*. In a larger rectangular part constituting the official block in the centre of the fort are situated the columned halls for the public audience (the Diwan-i-Am) and private audience (the Diwan-i-Khas). One half of the private part of the central enclosure is occupied by palaces meant for the royal family. The corresponding space on the other side was divided into a series of beautiful gardens. The interior space overlooking the river was occupied by a series of marble pavilions and beautiful palaces. The most notable palaces are the Moti Mahal, the Hira Mahal, and the Rang Mahal which are built of the same style. "The style of each is much the same," writes Percy Brown, "although there is a very pleasing variety of plan, each consisting of a single-storeyed hall usually open on all sides, divided into bays by massive piers and the roofs supported by foliated arches. Above are flat coffered ceilings at one time plated with silver or gilt, and the piers, walls and all interior surfaces are decorated either with inlay, low relief carving or patterns in colour and gold. The floors are paved with marble, and provision is made for a system of aqueducts to pass along the entire length of the buildings, partly to supply water for the numerous *hammāms*, but with the main object of adding to each apartment all the refreshing accompaniment of a water-palace. A constant supply of water was obtained by tapping the river Yamuna at a point 70 miles upstream and bringing it by canal to the fort, where its inlet was at the northern angle. Here the 'Nahr-i-Bihisht' or 'Stream of Paradise,' as it was called, entered by a scalloped marble cascade in the open central arcade by the Shah Burj or 'King's Tower,' and from there was distributed by stone or marble channels in all the required directions. In some of the pavilions it was diverted into fountains, the finest of which is the one completely filling the central compartment of the Rang Mahal." The whole arrangement is so artistic that the following lines inscribed in one of the halls are aptly applicable to this elegant monument. The couplet inscribed is that : "If there be a paradise on earth it is this, it is this, it is this."

Almost the same time Shahjahan built the famous Jami Masjid of Delhi. Its foundations were laid in 1644 and it took 14 years to complete. It is an extremely dignified building and was meant for the ceremonial attendance of Shahjahan and his courtiers. "An example of the highest type of religious architecture, precise and perfect, it forms a noble pile ; the endless flights of steps before each entrance, the lofty white domes and tapering minarets with the broad arch of the facade, are admirably disposed."

Taj Mahal

Shahjahan built many other elegant buildings, such as the white marble pavilions on the Anna Sagar lake at Ajmer, but the crowning glory is the architectural gem at Agra, which he erected on the remains of his beloved queen.

About a mile to the east of the Agra Fort and on a bend of the river Yamuna is situated the celebrated Taj Mahal. It was built by Shahjahan (1628-1658) as a mausoleum of his most favourite queen, Arjumand Banu Begum, honoured as Mumtaz Mahal. She was the daughter of his first prime minister, Asaf Khan, and niece of Jahangir's consort Nurjahan. Shahjahan had already provided for her a most magnificent white marble palace in the Agra Fort known as the palace of Begum Sahiba in the Khas Mahal. The queen died in 1531, and the grief-stricken emperor decided to build over her grave a mausoleum of matchless beauty to immortalise his passionate devotion to the lady who had captivated his heart and borne him fourteen children, of whom seven survived her. For this purpose, expert architects, engineers, master masons, calligraphists, specialists in dome construction, flower-carvers, and *pietra dura* inlayers, were summoned from far and near. They were commissioned to draw up a plan of the proposed mausoleum with a garden and a mosque and an ornamental gate, and work out to the minutest detail a scheme of ornamentation for the edifice. Father Manrique affirms that the plan of the monument was prepared by a Venetian architect named Geronimo Verroneo. Indian scholars, on the other hand, maintain, on the basis of contemporary records in Persian, that no European was employed either as an architect or as an engineer or even as a mason. The celebrated art critics, E. B. Havell and Percy Brown, rightly rejected the theory of the European origin of the Taj, as the entire edifice, in all its aspects, was according to them "the natural evolution of the (Indian) style, true to tradition and entirely unaffected by occidental influence."[6] Modern research has upheld Havell's contention. It is clear from a genuine contemporary document, named Diwa-i-Mahandis, of Hafiz Lutfullah Mahandis in the possession of Syed Mahmud of Bangalore, that the designer of Taj Mahal was Ustad Ahmad Lahori, who was the chief architect of Shahjahan and whom the emperor had honoured by bestowing on him the lofty title of 'Nadir-ul-Asar.'[7] But there can be little doubt that "the broad conception of this unique memorial can only be attributed to the imaginative mind of Shahjahan himself......" Indeed, no architect, however able, could possibly have suggested any plan that would meet the emperor's wishes and win his absolute approval since he himself was a man of profound aesthetic sensibility.

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[6] *Indian Architecture* (2nd ed.), pp. 17-40 ; *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 562.

All possible details relating to the design of the monument, its decoration, the disposition of the subsidiary buildings, so essential a part of the scheme, as well as the garden within which the mausoleum was to be built, were carefully thought out and recorded. So that utmost perfection of effect and harmony of composition might be achieved, nothing was left to chance or after-thought. A lovely spot overlooking an elevated bend of the meandering river providing an ideal setting was selected for the site of the building. The plan was admirably executed by both Hindu and Muslim artisans and took 22 years to complete it at a cost of fifty lakhs of rupees.

According to Percy Brown the design of the Taj Mahal as finally approved by Shahjahan "was based largely on the recently completed tombs of Khan-i-Khanan at Delhi, which in its turn was a reduced and modified copy of the mausoleum of the Emperor Humayun." This can be true only of the main structure, but its accessories, the walled enclosure with its ornamental gate, the mosque and its counterpart on the opposite side, the garden facing the monument, were all probably borrowed from Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandra or the tomb of Itmad-ud-Daulah at Agra. In the choice of material and decoration, the inspiration seems to have come from Itmad-ud-Daulah's tomb, which was the first Mughal building made entirely of white marble and in which the *pietra dura* mode of decoration was used for the first time.

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[7] M. Yasin Siddiqi, vide *Modern Review*, March, 1955, p. 226.

As the visitor approaches this dream in marble, he finds long rows of arcaded, red sand-stone buildings flanking him on either side. Passing through a double arched gateway he enters a vast rectangular courtyard with red sand-stone gates on all the four sides. Within this rectangular space, which is divided into four courtyards overgrown with smooth lawns, are handsome apartments with arcaded verandahs in front, which served as out-houses, bazars and stables for horses. The gateway to the north is the ornamented entrance to the mausoleum. It is an admirable composition of red sandstone with a lofty pointed arch in the centre, flanked by two handsome kiosks supported on brackets. The facade of the gateway is beautified by calligraphic inscriptions in Arabic and the spandrels on both the sides of the pointed arch are decorated with inlaid floral patterns. The gate is surmounted by eleven white marble cupolas, on either side of which stand out slender turrets. All these details are repeated on the further side of the gate facing the mausoleum.

The whole conception, including accessories of the main building, is in the form of a rectangle with its long axis lying north and measuring 1900 feet by 1000 feet. This is enclosed by a high wall which is surmounted by four broad arcaded marble pavilions, one at each corner. It has only one entrance : the ornamental gateway on the south side already described, along which on both sides are long rows of arched apartments. Within the enclosure, there is a square garden measuring 1000 feet on each side. At the northern end of the garden is a vast oblong space surmounted by a raised marble terrace. In the centre of this terrace stands on a plinth 22 feet high, the pearl white marble tomb of Mumtaz Mahal with a handsome mosque to the west and a corresponding building (guest house) to the east—all overlooking the river Yamuna below. The tomb is thus situated not in the centre of the garden as was usual with other buildings of that kind but at the northern end. The main structure of the square mausoleum is 108 feet high with a cupola at each corner and a bulbous dome of exquisite grace and proportion in the centre rising to a height of 187 feet and towering above the surrounding cupolas. "To extend and distribute the architectural effect, a minaret in three stages and crowned by a kiosk rises from each corner of the plinth to a height of 137 feet." The space on the south side, that is, in front of the monument, is covered by a neatly laid out garden, "so designed as to comprise an intrinsic part of the architectural effect, the avenue of the cypress trees being planted to harmonise with the lines of the building, and the water-courses with their ornamental pools elevated in such a manner as to reflect the most attractive points of view." The mausoleum is remarkably simple in design. The main structure is as high as it is wide, that is, the width of the facade is equal to the height of the edifice. Perpendicularly it may be divided into two equal parts : the lower half is the rectangular ground floor and the upper half consists of the principal dome and its surrounding kiosks. "Externally each facade of the lower rectangular portion is relieved by arrangement of arched recesses, and to the rich shadows within these voids the whole structure owes much of its charm. But its crowning glory is the great dome, which hangs in the sky like a shapely white cloud, its soaring height being mainly due to the tall drum at its base. The body of the dome is spherical so that it rests on this drum like a ball on the top of a cup, but its upper curve, by means of a carefully calculated tangent, gracefully tapers off into a foliated crest. To give a finish to the whole composition as well as to draw the eye of the spectator imperceptibly from undue concentration on the central chamber, at each corner of the terrace rises a slender minaret."

According to Havell, the structural arrangement of the Taj Mahal is not Saracenic but is essentially Hindu, and its prototype is the temple of Chandi Seva built after the Indian masonic tradition at Prambanam in Java, in 1098 A.D., and not derived from Humayun's tomb at Delhi. The style of the dome, too, according to the above writer, is Hindu and not Saracenic. Percy Brown, on the other hand, maintains that the large central dome of the Taj was derived from a Persian source, while the smaller ones, unconstricted at their base, are indigenous, "and were inspired by the overlapping rings of masonry which formed the vaulted ceilings of the Hindu temples." Both, however, agree that the entire building is Indian in character, style and workmanship. The interior of the mausoleum consists of an octagonal central hall with a crypt below and a vaulted chamber above. In the centre of the hall stands the tomb of Mumtaz Mahal, as the mausoleum was originally intended to enshrine her mortal remains only, since Shahjahan desired to build for himself another mausoleum of black marble which was to be an exact replica of the Taj and was to be built in the Mahtab Bagh on the opposite bank of the river. The foundations of this proposed mausoleum had been laid much before the war of succession broke out among his sons. Aurangzeb's utter lack of filial reverence prevented the completion of the plan, and Shahjahan, after his death in 1665, was buried by the side of his queen. The cenotaphs are of white marble exquisitely carved and profusely inlaid with precious stones, and are surrounded by an octagonal screen, eight feet high, carved out of slabs of white marble. There are subsidiary rooms, one in each nook connected by radiating corridors. Every part of the building gets sufficient light through the perforated grilles or screens which are set in the arched recesses of the exterior. The central hall too is in two storeys of arcades and is surmounted by a semi-circular vault, "forming the inner shell with the double dome, as there is a large void above this ceiling equal in area to the hall itself." The side rooms too have their upper storeys. The entire edifice is in chaste white marble, and the decoration, both inside and out, harmonises with the material of which it is composed, and also with the broad unity of the entire monument itself. Percy Brown points out : "It.........is in the finished quality of the *pietra dura* that the inimitable patience and skill of Indian inlayer is most plainly shown, as his share in the decorative effect ranges from the bold scroll-work in the spandrels above the great arches to the minute flowers on the cenotaphs and the perforated marble screen which encloses these...The delicate carving of the marble into a grille of graceful volutes and the enrichment of each scroll with inlaid precious stones has produced a work of art of entrancing beauty, but even this is surpassed by the *pietra dura* on the cenotaphs themselves, which is cut with a fineness of a cameo. Diapers and borders of pendant flowers, sprays of foliage with lilies and other floral forms either in detached repeats or contained within carved panels, are evenly distributed over their marble surfaces. So sensitive and yet so firm is the drawing that it resembles the spirited sweep of a brush rather than a slow laborious cutting of a chisel."

The loveliness of the Taj Mahal is due to several factors. In the first place, the charming site of the vital river bend on which it stands contributes so much to the pleasing effect to the landscape. The reflection of the building in the water of the Yamuna sets off its unique charm. Viewed from the garden in front, the white marble facade of the mausoleum sharply stands out against the uninterrupted and natural background provided by the sky line. This enhances its beauty to a remarkable degree Secondly, the complete lucidity, coherence and mathematical precision of the outline of the building intensify the total architectural effect. Its simple yet chaste design, its absolute accuracy of lines and angles and its studied symmetry, have all contributed to its pervasive charm. The foundation must have been laid very deep, and with all possible care with the result that the building rests on one firm compact bed of masonry. This accounts for the fact that for over 300 years it has remained in an excellent state of preservation and freshness. Any deviation from the true in a structure which relies for much of its beauty on the mathematical precision of its outlines would of course be fatal. "The result of this kind of scientific treatment is the high degree of perfection in its proportions, the simplicity, yet superb fluidity of its parts and the elegance, the facility and golden cadence of it as a whole."

Thirdly, the entire structure of the monument is remarkably simple in design, a square building as high as wide with a bulbous dome in the centre and four small kiosks around it, and yet it has been worked out with such consummate skill that it "betokens the master-mind" and impresses us by its haunting beauty. Fourthly, "it is the facile grouping, rhythmical disposal and skilful inter-relation of each part in the total unity that cause the appearance of this building to react on the aesthetic perception in a most inspiring manner."

Fifthly, "the crowning glory of its elevation lies in the shape and volume of the dome, which, supported by a lofty drum, appears like a cloud reclined upon his airy throne."

Sixthly, the white marble of Makarana of which it is composed and which "takes on incredibly subtle variations of tint and tone, according to the change of light, thus, picturing a passing colour of the monument," has invested the Taj with a beauty that could not have been achieved in any other medium. "For every hour of the day," writes Percy Brown, "and for every atmospheric condition, the Taj has its own colour values, from the soft dreaminess at dawn, and the dazzling whiteness at mid-day to its cold splendour in the moonlight, when the dome, thin of substance as the air, hangs among the stars like a great pearl. Yet none of these effects can equal those few fleeting moments when, softly illuminated by the brief Indian afterglow, it assumes the enchanting tint of some pale and lovely rose."[8] Lastly, the Taj reflects in a superb manner the feminine grace of the royal lady in whose memory it was built. It is pregnant with human feeling and is, according to Havell, "the apotheosis of Indian womanhood." It is "a great ideal conception which belongs more to sculpture than to architecture." It is a frozen lyric in which is sung the story of an emperor's passionate devotion to his queen ; so poignant because it is essentially so human and winning eloquence from an eternity of silence—the silence which now broods over the graves of these immortal lovers. If a statue of Mumtaz Mahal could not be carved on account of religious prejudice, the master builders could, in their ambition for a monument which should be one of the world's wonders, "satisfy Shahjahan by creating a unique architectonic symbol of her loveliness."

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[8] *Indian Architecture* (Islamic Period), p. 112.

The Taj Mahal has become the Mecca of art lovers who come from all parts of the world. Hardly a day passes before someone, high or humble, has not crossed the seven seas to pay homage to this unique shrine.

For the people of Agra it is an everyday pleasure resort, but particularly once every month, when the moon is full, it draws huge crowds who abandon themselves to the moonlit spell of this great mausoleum. On the last day of the Hindu month of Ashwin (September/October) when the full moon is supposed to be at its brightest best, a great fair is held in the compound of the Taj buildings. People, not in thousands, but in hundreds of thousands, visit and linger late into the night admiring its romantic beauty.

Aurangzeb

Unlike his ancestors, Aurangzeb did not display any love for fine arts. He constructed only a few buildings none of which compares in architectural merit to the splendid monuments erected by his father, grandfather and great-grandfather. The Indo-Muslim architecture registered a downward trend after Shahjahan's death. Besides the obvious reasons, namely, the decline of the empire, the personality of Aurangzeb and his "philitinism and narrowness of outlook", the decline of architecture might have been due to natural progress of events, viz., reaction from a period of unrestrained production under Shahjahan.

The only building of note in the royal capital with which Aurangzeb's name is associated is the white marble mosque in the red fort of Delhi. But it is a dwarf as compared with the Moti Masjid (Pearl Mosque) built by his father in the Agra Fort. Aurangzeb planned and designed the tomb of his favourite queen, Rabia-ud-Daurani, at Aurangabad in the Deccan in 1679. It is popularly known as the second Taj Mahal; but, though a copy of the Taj, it is far inferior to the latter in design, workmanship and execution. In size it is half of the Taj Mahal, and is a 'medicore production.' "Those outstanding qualities of simplicity and breadth which make the Taj so profound and satisfying have been disregarded and meaningless efforts at embellishment have been applied all over the building." But some features of the structure such as the octagonal screens of white marble that enclose the sarcophagus and the designs in bas relief display exquisite workmanship. The floral panels on the iron doors whose borders too are beautifully chiselled furnish an example of first-rate ornamentation in metal.

Of the few notable mosques erected in the time of Aurangzeb the Badshahi mosque at Lahore is the most prominent on account of its sound construction and great size. It was built under the supervision of the emperor's Master of Ordnance, Fidai Khan, and is a stately monument. But in spite of its size it is poorer when compared with the Jami mosques of Agra and Delhi. Another mosque built at Aurangzeb's orders is the one at Banaras, erected on the site of the celebrated Vishwanath temple, and has lofty minarets towering over the city. But this too indicates "the inconsistent nature of the art and the extent to which it had fallen away from its previous standard towards the end of the 17th century." An equally lofty mosque is at Mathura built on the site of the Keshava Deva temple of Bir Singh Deva Bundela. It is made of red sand-stone and is a gigantic structure.

It will not be out of place to notice some of the prominent monuments erected during the period in South India. The city of Bijapur enclosed by a powerful wall pierced by gateways and a fortified citadel with palaces, mosques, tombs, etc. within, naturally takes the first place. It is built almost entirely of a local trap, dark brown in colour, and is not impressive to look at. The notable buildings in the town are Gol Gumbaz or Muhammad Adil Shah's tomb, and the Mihtar Mahal. The Gol Gumbaz is one of the largest domes of its kind and covers an area of a little over 18,000 square feet. It is "only the central portion of a considerable architectural complex which was intended to include a mosque, a gateway, and musicians' gallery, a hostel and other annexes essential to a royal tomb, all disposed within an extensive walled enclosure."

The design of the tomb is simple, enclosing as it does one chamber only, "but this is a hall of noble proportions" and is one of the largest single cells ever erected. In architectural arrangement, style and execution, it is a very elegant building. The Mihtar Mahal is a gateway to the inner courtyard of a mosque. But it is more than a gateway, and is a lofty and graceful building whose upper storey contains an assembly room, "and above this again is an open terrace surrounded by a high wall with oriel windows and a perforated parapet." Another important building is the Jami Masjid of Ali Adil Shah, but unfortunately it was not completed. The last of all is the Ibrahim Rauza which consists of the tomb of Sultan Ibrahim II and a mosque attached to it.

Khandesh too had some notable monuments. Important among them are a palace at Burhanpur, some tombs at Thalner and a few mosques. These buildings, though elegant in appearance, are frankly a composite conception consisting as they do of elements acquired from a variety of sources.

Rajeshkumar Gambhava

14

Painting

We have little evidence about the cultivation of arts, other than architecture, during the Sultanate period (1206-1526). One, however, comes across stray and unfrequented references to ornamental designs painted on walls or engraved on furniture, arms and saddles, and embroidered on flags and costumes. Besides, ornamental pottery and metal work were well developed. Inlaid metal basins, porcelains and Bidri vessels and profusely decorated brass and silver pots were used in the royal household and also in the houses of nobles and high officials. But owing to the Quranic prohibition, the art of painting proper was shunned by the sultans, the Muslim nobility and rank and file. It was believed by them that a painter who painted the figures of living beings imagined that he was giving life to the object of his painting and thus he presumed to rival God, who alone is the giver of life. In view of this, the art of painting, at least of living beings, was considered irreligious by orthodox Musalmans. On account of religious reasons the sultans had no love for painting and refused to patronise painters.

Akbar, though a Muslim, was a lover of art, and used to say that far from making a man irreligious, painting urges an artist to turn to God and seek His blessing in the task of imparting individuality to his work. Like Akbar, the Persian rulers of the Safawi dynasty were great patrons of art. Notwithstanding the Quranic injunction against the painting of living beings, they introduced Chinese or Mongolian painting in Persia and invited Chinese master-artists to teach this art to their countrymen. The early Muslim artists confined themselves to the painting of inanimate objects, such as, trees, mountains, rivers, water, fire, etc. The next step was to take to the drawing of birds and animals and then finally to human portraiture. The greatest exponents of this art in Central Asia were Bihzad of Herat and his pupil, Agha Miraq of Tabriz. Bihzad had served Sultan Husain Baiqara of Herat and subsequently entered the service of Shah Ismail Safawi of Persia. He was responsible for refining the Chinese or Mongolian style of painting and making it essentially Persian. It was in this form that the art of painting was brought to India at Akbar's instance and introduced at court.

Disregarding the Quranic prohibition, Akbar not only introduced painting at his court, but also justified the cultivation of this art and looked upon it as truly religious. "There are many," he said, "that hate painting ; but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter has a peculiar means of recognising God ; for a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising its limbs, one after the other, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work, and is thus forced to think of God, the giver of life, and will thus increase in knowledge."[1]

Khwaja Abdus Samad who had taught Akbar drawing in his boyhood, and who in the time of Humayun enjoyed the title of Shirin Qalam or Sweet Pen, was commissioned by the young emperor to paint portraits and murals for him. Under Akbar's patronage Khwaja Abdus Samad, who, according to Jahangir, had no equal in the art of painting, laid the foundation of the Indo-Persian or more correctly the Mughal School of pictorial art. At Akbar's court this art mingled with the style of Indian painting which despite neglect and lack of patronage had survived since ancient time. The tradition of Hindu painting goes back to antiquity, and can be seen in the cave art of Ajanta, Ramgarh and Bagh and that of Sittan-navasal, the product of the time of the great Pallava ruler, Mahendra Verman I (c. 600-625 A.D.). In view of this historical reason Hindus easily took to painting and excelled in the art. Referring to the perfection attained by the painters of Akbar's court Abul Fazl writes : "This is specially true of the Hindus. Their pictures surpass our conception of things. Few, indeed in the whole world, are found equal to them."[2] The two styles, Persian and Indian, gradually fused into one : the foreign element disappeared so that it eventually became purely Indian. The process of this evolution can be seen in the pages of the Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Timuria and Badshahnama, both unique works, which are still preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh Library at Patna. Akbar's patronage attracted the best painters to his court, and the Mughal school of painting produced a large number of artists some of whom immortalised themselves through their paintings. "His Majesty," writes Abul Fazl, "from his earliest youth has shown a great predilection for this art, and gives it every encouragement, as he looks up to it as a means, both of study and amusement. Hence the art flourishes, and many painters have obtained great reputation. The works of all painters are weekly laid before his majesty by the daroghas and the clerks ; he then confers rewards according to excellence of workmanship, or increases the monthly salaries."[3]

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[1] *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I (Second edition), p. 115.

Abul Fazl informs us that the art of painting in its general finish and boldness of execution reached perfection and "even inanimate objects looked as if they had life." More than a hundred painters mastered the art. Among these Mir Sayyid Ali of Tabriz, Khwaja Abdus Samad, Daswanth and Basawan were the most renowned. Daswanth was a Kahar by caste and the son of a palanquin-bearer. He was fond of painting pictures on walls. One day, quite accidently, Akbar saw these paintings, and was so impressed by them that he elevated Daswanth to the status and respectability of an artist. He was trained by Khwaja Abdus Samad and "in a short time he surpassed all painters and became the first master of the age. Unfortunately the light of his talent was dimmed by the shadow of madness. He committed suicide. He has left many masterpieces.[4]" Basawan rivalled Daswanth. "In backgrounding, drawing of features, distribution of colours, portrait-painting, and several other branches, he is most excellent, so much so that many critics prefer him to Daswanth."[5]

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[2] *Ain-i-Akbari,* Vol. I (Second edition), p. 114.
[3] *Ibid,* p. 113.

Besides these four masters, there were thirteen other first-rate painters at Akbar's court, mostly Hindus. These were: Keshava, Lal, Mukund, Mushkin, Farrukh, Madhu, Jagan, Mahesh, Khaim-Karan, Tara, Sanwala, Harbansh, and Ram. Unfortunately, the paintings of these seventeen eminent artists are no longer in the country, having been appropriated by the English who carried them away to London. "The collection of signed pictures," writes V. A. Smith, "from the Akbarnama at South Kensington alone would suffice as material for a critical examination of the merits of each of the principal artists of Akbar's reign. But no modern critic has yet attempted the task of accurately discriminating the styles of the various draughtsmen and colourists of the age."[6]

The art of painting flourished during the reign of Jahangir (1605-1627) who was himself as great, if not a greater, connoisseur of art as his father. Of the numerous painters at his court the most renowned were Abul Hasan (who was given the title of Nadir-uz-Zaman) and Ustad Mansur (who was honoured with the title of Nadir-ul-Asar). Jahangir speaks very highly of them. Abul Hasan executed a painting of the Darbar scene at Jahangir's accession, which was later used as the frontispiece to that emperor's autobiography, entitled Jahangir-Nama or Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri. The emperor considered this work perfect and "one of the *chefs d'oeuvre* of the age." Abul Hasan's father Āqā Rizāī of Herat, too, was an accomplished painter in Jahangir's service, but his work did not reach the standard of his son's. Ustad Mansur was, in this art, "unique in his generation." Jahangir himself had considerable skill with the brush. "As regards myself," he writes in his autobiography, "my liking for painting and my practice in judging it have arrived at such a point that when any work is brought before me, either of deceased artists or of those of the present day, without the names being told me, I say on the spur of the moment that it is the work of such and such a man. And if there be a picture containing many portraits, and each face be the work of a different master, I can discover which face is the work of each of them. If any other person has put in the eye and eyebrow of a face, I can perceive whose work the original face is, and who has painted the eye and eyebrows."[7] He had established a picture gallery consisting of many valuable paintings in one of his gardens.[8] There must have been similar picture galleries in his palaces. Under Jahangir, Indian painting reached its high water-mark. This was specially due to the emperor's patronage of the art as also to its natural development owing to the impetus it had received in the time of Akbar, and the presence and labours of numerous artists, both Indian and foreign. It continued to flourish in the time of Shahjahan. But the latter was more fond of architecture than of painting. This, together with the sensuousness of his taste, led to a certain decadence in pictorial art. The paintings of the time of Shahjahan are characterised by graphic colouring and ornamental borders. Proper attention was not paid to perspective, light and shade.

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[4] *Ain-i-Akbari,* Vol. I (Second edition), p. 114.

[5] *Ibid,* p. 114.

[6] *Akbar the Great Mogul,* pp. 428-29.

During the reign of Aurangzeb, who was a bigot and antipathetic to all forms of art, painting continued to exist, though not flourish, as the Mughal nobles and Hindu rulers still patronised it. The lack of royal patronage, and the political confusion that followed the decline of the Mughal empire, did much to impede the progress of the art. There was nevertheless no dearth of able painters even in the 18th century. The Mughal school of painting produced a variety of pictures, such as, portraits, darbar and hunting scenes, scenes of battles, of ladies at toilet, harem scenes, landscape and even pictures of animals and birds. Numerous albums of court paintings were prepared and presented by the Mughal rulers to their friends and some of these are still preserved in the British Museum and elsewhere. There was a picture gallery at Agra in the time of Akbar. Jahangir mentions that the picture gallery in the Agra Fort was attached to the royal library and both these institutions were under the charge of Maktub Khan.

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[7] *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Tr. by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. II, pp. 20-21.

[8] *Ibid*, pp. 161-62.

It was in the realm of portrait painting that the Mughal artists achieved great fame. Under Akbar, the art of portraiture made tremendous progress, but it was in the time of Jahangir that it was at its best. Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan had their portraits painted, and they encouraged the nobles at their court to do the same. "His Majesty," writes Abul Fazl, "himself sat for his likeness, and also ordered to have the likenesses taken of all the grandees of the realm. An immense album was thus formed ; those that have passed away have received new life, and those who are still alive have immortality promised to them."[9]

The pictorial art was also used for illustrating books, either original or their translations. Babar's autobiogrphy was suitably illustrated with paintings by the best artists of Akbar's reign. The Persian translation of the Mahabharat, entitled Razm-Nama, carried illustrations of heroes and scenes of battles. Other works were similarly illuminated with painted borders and contained pictures illustrating the themes. Calligraphy too was looked upon as a branch of painting and was practised throughout the medieval period of our history. There were many kinds of writings, eight of which were as much prized as painting itself, and were kept preserved in albums. The art of penmanship and that of engraving inscriptions on walls were equally valued. During the days of Akbar and Jahangir, well known painters were employed to decorate the imperial palaces and other buildings. Pictures from the Christian scriptures, such as, the portraits of Jesus and Mary, and the Apostles, scenes based on Persian mythology and Firdausi's Shah-Nama, found a prominent place on the walls and in the niches of the royal palaces at Fatehpur Sikri and in the Agra Fort. Although with the passing of time and owing to acts of vandalism, most of the murals have been disfigured and even destroyed, yet quite a few have survived—as those in Akbar's bed-room and library and in the palace of Mariam—and remind us of the glorious achievements of the Mughals in this direction.

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[9] *Ain.*. Vol. I (2nd ed.), p. 115.

The first illustrated work of Mughal painting produced in the early years of Akbar's reign was Hamzah-Nama or the Exploits of Hamzah, an uncle of Prophet Muhammad. The work consisted of more than one thousend folios on canvas and was produced by Mir Sayyid Ali Tabrizi with the assistance of many Indian painters. This work, though based on Persian technique, has certain features which are purely Indian. During the first half of Akbar's reign, illustrated manuscripts of Hamzah-Nama, Babar-Nama and Timur-Nama were produced. Thereafter classical works of Sanskrit, which were translated into Persian, were also illustrated by the court painters. Among these Razm-Nama and Anwar-i-Suhaili are the most important, and may be seen in the Pothi Khana at Jaipur and in the Library of the School of Oriental Studies, London. Other works, such as, Shah-Nama, Lilawati, Majnun-Laila, Babar-Nama, Akbar-Nama and many others were similarly illustrated with beautiful paintings. These are preserved in various important libraries of the world. Famous art-critics, such as, Percy Brown, O. C. Gangoli, and N. C. Mehta, have reproduced some of these paintings of Mughal times in their sumptuous works.

Dr. Moti Chand has discussed in his thesis entitled, 'The Technique of Mughal Painting', the method, perspective, shading and landscape in Mughal art. The painters at Agra and Fatehpur Sikri used Indian and foreign paper as also parchment. Art paper of a very high quality was manufactured in this country from *santat*, linen, and grass. It was also imported from Persia and was known as Irani and Asfahani. Painting on canvas was also known and practised, though not on such a large scale as that on paper. The colours used by the Mughal painters were natural as well as artificial and were made in the country. Indigo, ultra-marine and gold colours were preferred to others, and these were so carefully and scientifically made that in spite of the lapse of three centuries and much rough handling they have not faded or caked off. The preference for bright colours is probably a Persian influence. In the early period our painters did not attempt a blending of colours, but accentuated the outline dividing different colours with the help of a deeper shade of the same colour. During the reign of Jahangir and Shahjahan blending of colours became the common practice.

The early portraits of the Mughal period do not show a masterly sense of proportion and balance, which developed only in the time of Jahangir, especially in the sketching of human figures. "The classic Mughal ideal of proportion, however, emerged in the time of Shahjahan, and has been followed by the Mughal painters ever since." (Moti Chand). Similarly, the Persian vogue of stylised landscape was replaced by more realistic studies, and pools with lotus blooms became an invariable component of landscape art.

The themes rendered by these painters were bewildering in their variety. Thousands of portraits of the emperors, of members of the royal family, nobles and courtiers were produced. Paintings of gorgeously dressed and accoutred nobles were very much appreciated. Smartly dressed nobles holding flowers or jewelled plaques in their hands and standing in formal rows were also admired. Darbar scenes, depicting even minute details of carpet and architectural designs were much favoured. Harem scenes and those depicting ladies at toilet were special favourites of the Mughal aristocracy. Beautiful ladies drinking or serving wine or listening to music were popular themes. Saints and dervishes caught in a mood of religious ecstasy, and with nobles, even princes, attending upon them, were other subjects studied in their paintings. Scenes of hunting by day or at night also caught the artists' fancy. "By constant practice," writes Dr. Moti Chand. "the draughtsmanship in Shahjahan's school of painting becomes very sensitive. The lines are not allowed to flow freely, but are studied and above all priority is given to the expression of grace and delicacy. The lines at times are so fine that it would require sometimes a magnifying glass to distinguish the delicate strokes."[10]

The reign of Aurangzeb marks the decline of the art of painting. The nobles, who patronised artists, now paid them starvation wages. In consequence the character and quality of work deteriorated. During the reign of Farrukhsiyar (1713-1719), however, painting received a fresh impetus, but the artists produced work, large in volume but much interior to that done in the time of Akbar, Jahangir or Shahjahan. The colours lacked refinement, "and to hide defects increased use of stippling was made." Muhammad Shah also patronised this art, but no artist could now recapture its former brilliance. After the middle of the 18th century there was general deterioration in drawing, colouring, sense of landscape, perspective and proportion. European influence, specially noticeable in landscape and treatment of perspective, proved to be harmful.

Once again there was a short-lived revival of art under the provincial dynasties, such as those of Murshidabad, Lucknow and Hyderabad, but it tended to be merely imitative and Europeanised, until it finally died down.

The Deccan school of painting, which was contemporary with the early Mughal school and had developed in Bijapur and Golkunda, was an independent movement. But in the 17th century it was considerably influenced by Mughal technique and colouring. The later Hyderabad school under the Asaf-Jahi dynasty was a continuation of the Mughal school of art, and reflected the degenerate taste of the Delhi court of the 18th century.

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[10] Moti Chand, *The Technique of Mughal Painting*, p. 95.

Rajput School of Painting

Almost equally important, though less developed, was the Rajput school of painting that flourished luxuriantly throughout the Mughal period. In its decadent form it even now holds the field in some parts of Rajasthan, notably in Nathadwara. Opinion is divided regarding its connection with the Mughal school of painting. According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, it "is not an indigenous Hindu product, nor has it any natural connection with Rajputana. The vassal rajahs of the Mughal empire used to enlist painters trained in the imperial court and employ them in presenting scenes from the Hindu epics and romances and other subjects of a purely Hindu character, but the style and the art-ideas of these painters are exactly the same as those of the painters employed by the Mughal court."[11] This view does not seem to be fair, for we have concrete evidence of the pictorial art tradition in Rajasthan going as far back as the Stone Age. The earliest paintings in Rajasthan are to be found in the rock-shelters situated in the bed of the Chambal valley at Mori, Indra-Garh, Hinglaj-Garh, etc. These paintings are of dancing human figures and pastoral scenes. There is a continuous tradition from the painting of rock-shelters to our time.[12] It is, therefore, incorrect to say that Rajput chiefs had borrowed the art of painting from the Mughals. What happened was that from the time of Akbar onward the Mughal school of painting profoundly influenced the already existing Rajput school. The latter was almost transformed on account of its contact with the Mughal court.

The pre-Mughal Rajput painting was of two types—mural painting and pictorial painting. It was invariably the fashion for Prakrit, Sanskrit and Marwari manuscript-books to be illustrated with pictures. The borders of the books too were profusely illustrated with all kinds of floral designs. The existence of a large number of illustrated manuscripts in the Grantha Bhandar at Jaisalmer substantiates this assumption. We find therein an illustrated palm leaf manuscript of V.S. 1216, entitled the Kalpa Sutra by Bhaibau Swami. In Mewar also we have had illustrated manuscripts dated 1422-23 A.D. The best illustrations of the mural paintings are to be found in the palaces of Maharana Kumbha at Kumbhalgarh and in the Alha Kabra ki Haveli at Chittorgarh which show that the pictorial art was practised in Rajasthan from the 12th to the 15th century.[13]

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[11] *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 292.
[12] Satya Prakash, *The Researcher*, Vol. I, pp. 44-45.

During the Mughal age the Rajput painters borrowed the Mughal technique. It may be that sometimes these painters faithfully copied the Mughal models in regard to dress, arms, etc. The themes of the Rajput painters were mostly scenes from Indian mythology, from the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, etc. Sometimes they depicted in lines and colour modes of sentiments in dealing with traditional tunes. These tunes are called *Rāgās* and *Rāginīs*, and the paintings depicting them are called Rāgmālās. We have Ragmala paintings in the Central Museum at Jaipur. There are 36 Ragas and Raginis and all these are depicted in the paintings preserved at the Jaipur Museum.

There were as many Rajput styles of painting as there were states in Rajasthan. But all these conformed to one type with slight differences in the matter of delineation of faces, particularly of the nose, the eyes, the beard and moustaches, and sometimes even the mode of dressing. The most conspicuous styles were those of Mewar with its two allied schools, viz., the Nathadwara and Kankarauli, and Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bundi and Kishangarh, and Datia in Bundelkhand. Besides the darbar scenes, hunting expeditions, and portraits of rulers and princes, the Mewar school treated mostly of Vaishnava themes, such as, temples and the image of Shrinathji, the religious festivals associated with the Vallabhacharya sect and the portraits of mahants of Nathadwara and Kankarauli. Other styles generally dealt with religious themes from the Mahabharata, the Ramayana and the Puranas. Besides the portraits of the rulers of the individual states, some of the paintings produced in line and colour folk songs and stories, particularly the popular Dhola Maru episode and the elopement of Rukmini. The Rajput paintings of the 16th and 17th centuries were profoundly influenced by Mughal art in technique and colour.

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[13] *Ibid*, pp. 44-47.

Another school of painting that flourished during the later Mughal period was the so-called Kangara School. It was, as Sir Jadunath Sarkar says, "a belated but pure survival of Indo-Saracen art dealing with Hindu subjects." The greatest master of this school was Mola Ram, who belonged to Garhwal and flourished at the end of the 18th century. The secluded tracts of the hills of Garhwal had escaped the anarchy which had overtaken the plains of northern India due to the downfall of the Mughal empire in the 18th century. These were also free from the debasing influence of European art which was spreading upward from Bengal after the battle of Baksar (1764), and could therefore pursue the unadulterated Indian art which had almost disappeared from the Gangetic plains. "Mola Ram's colouring is extremely beautiful and his representation of animals, plants, etc., has remarkable delicacy of touch and charm, in spite of their palpable conventionality. His night pieces are of special excellence."

The Mughal painting continued its tradition until the first half of the 19th century. Ranjeet Singh of the Panjab was the last ruler to make an attempt to revive it, but the result was disappointing. "In spite of its elaborate prettiness," the Mughal painting in its latest phase was "only suggestive of the last gasp of an old and discarded horse, suddenly flogged into life."

Rajeshkumar Gambhava

15

Music, Sculpture, Other Arts and Gardens

India has been known for her classical music since time immemorial. But orthodox Musalmans have considered music to be definitely an irreligious pursuit, and, therefore, condemn it ; but the majority of the exponents of the Quranic text were of the opinion that music was neither good nor bad. This attitude of indifference towards music was also shared by the Sultanate of Delhi and consequently there was spasmodic court patronage of the art. Some of the sultans did not permit music while others like Balban, Jalal-ud-din and Ala-ud-din Khalji, and Muhammad bin Tughluq held musical entertainments at their courts. The Sayyid Sultan Mubarak Shah was a noted patron of this art. Some of the sufi saints, particularly of the Chishti order, like Muin-ud-din of Ajmer and Nizam-ud-din Aulia of Delhi, enjoyed *qavvalis* and emphasized the devotional character of music. The celebrated poet Amir Khusrau was a noted musician and a disciple of Nizam-ud-din Auliya. Some of the sultans of Jaunpur, and a few notables here and there, loved music and extented royal patronage to those who practised this art. The most notable result of this patronage was the

Ghunyat-ul-Munya, written about 1374-75, the first work on Indian music by a Muslim scholar of Gujarat. They recognised the fact that the Hindu classical music was of a very high order and was far superior to the Arabo-Iranian or so-called Muslim music which was introduced in Sindh after its conquest by the Arabs. None, however, made a conscious effort to harmonise the two systems. It was left to Akbar to take the first step in this direction. He was, like his great ancestor Babar, devoted to music. "His Majesty," writes Abul Fazl, "pays much attention to music and is the patron of all who practise this enchanting art."[1] He was himself a skilled musician and no mean performer on the *naqqāra* (kettle-drum). His knowledge of the science of music was more profound than that of most professed musicians. He had studied Hindu vocalisation under Lal Kalawant who taught him "every breathing and sound that appertains to the Hindi language."[2]

Early in his reign the emperor sent for Tansen (originally a Gaur Brahman of Gwalior) from Rewa and raised him to a position of great importance at his court. Tansen was the most accomplished musician of the age, and, according to Abul Fazl, "a singer like him had not been in India for the last one thousand years." He had been trained in a school established by Raja Man Singh Tomar (1486-1518) in Gwalior. Tansen is said to have invented some new ragas. The credulous believed that he could stop the flow of the Yamuna with his music. His guru was Baba Haridas of Vrindaban. Many anecdotes of his exceptional skill in the art are remembered and recounted to this day. Another famous musician at Akbar's court was Baba Ram Das who ranked next only to Tansen. Baba Ram Das seemed to have been attached to Bairam Khan who was so pleased with him that on one occasion he awarded the musician a sum of 1,00,000 of tankas. There were many other musicians of note at Akbar's court, and Ain-i-Akbari gives the names of thirtysix of those whom Abul Fazl considered as first-rate singers.

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[1] *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I (Second edition), p. 681.

[2] *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (Tr. by Rogers and Beveridge), Vol. I, p. 150.

Akbar's interest in and patronage of the art, led to great progress in both instrumental and vocal music. At his court Hindu and Muslim systems of music mingled freely, and finally each kind became indistinguishable from the other. In this process of fusion, Hindu music became modified to a certain extent, and some critics also feel that in some respects it lost its purity and excellence. Tansen is often blamed for having brought about a debasement in our classical music as two of our ragas, Hindol and Megh, disappeared, to be revived only recently. Be that as it may, Muslims began to be fond of music since Akbar's time, and some of them even excelled the Hindu musicians.

Jahangir and Shahjahan, being themselves deeply interested in music, extended generous patronage to competent musicians, who adorned their court, and classed them as imperial servants. These rulers set apart some time every day for musical entertainment. The most notable musicians of Jahangir's court were Jahangir Dad, Parvez Dad, Khurram Dad, Makhu, Hamjan and Chatur Khan. The English traveller, William Finch, who visited Agra in Jahangir's time, writes that the emperor had divided his most skilled musicians into seven groups, each entertaining him for one day in the week. The emperor used to reward the musicians according to their merit. Besides having master musicians at his court, he would invite other musicians from all over the country and would listen to their performance on the occasion of court festivals, such as, Navroz, his and his sons' birthdays, etc. Shahjahan himself was a skilled musician, and sometimes participated in music in the company of notable musicians. There were at his court many distinguished musicians, such as Jagannath, Ram Das, Mahapatra, Sukhsen, Sursen, Durang Khan, Lal Khan and Mirza Zulqarnen. Jagannath was also a Sanskrit poet and author of Ras-Gangadhar and Ganga-Lahari, and was raised to the high position of poet-laureate.

Aurangzeb dismissed all court musicians soon after he had come to the throne. With a view to drawing the emperor's attention to their miserable plight, the dismissed musicians took out a mock-funeral procession symbolising the death of music.

But far from being moved, the emperor ordered the coffin to be buried deep and well, lest music should escape from its grave. Music, however, did not disappear altogether. Female musicians continued to entertain the ladies of the royal harem. The nobles, other men of rank, as well as the semi-independent chieftains, in the country continued to practise the art. The later Mughal emperors from the time of Jahandar Shah to that of Bahadur Shah II were all lovers of music and did whatever they could to encourage it. But in the eighteenth century this noble art fell off its high standards and became debased. It become associated with courtesans and professional women. It was restored to its former dignity with the birth of our national consciousness and the revival of ancient values in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

The national music which had its birth in Agra in the time of Akbar holds the field even today. Political or religious barriers have failed to divide musicians and lovers of music into narrow or opposite camps, so that music still remains the common legacy of both Hindus and Muslims.

Sculpture

Sculpture was considered one of the most important fine arts in ancient India and the art had reached perfection before the commencement of the Christian era. There was, however, a noticeable decline in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D., and sculpture suffered a considerable setback with the advent of Muslim invaders from the north-west. To the Musalman it is sinful to produce images of living beings, but an even greater blasphemy is to have those of the Almighty. They call it *kufr*, that is, ingratitude to God, supposed to be implied in associating other gods with Him, or in making an image of Him. The Muslim invaders from the north considered it their duty to forbid the making of images. Therefore, they systematically destroyed all kinds of images. Only such escaped religious vandalism as were buried underground, or had been taken away to inaccessible places of safety. Thus, no art in this country suffered more than the art of sculpture during medieval times.

But Akbar was not such a fanatic, so he permitted the making of stone images. He had commissioned artists to carve statues of Jaimal and Fatta riding elephants, and these once adorned the main gateway of the Agra fort. The Hathi Pol gateway of his palace at Fatehpur Sikri was also embellished by two huge elephants in red sand-stone. Jahangir had similar statues made of Rana Amar Singh and his son, Prince Karan of Udaipur, which were set in the garden below the Jharokha-i-Darshan of the Agra fort. During the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb the art of sculpture languished for want of support, and finally died out.

The Mughals, however, patronised one branch of sculpture, namely, ivory carving. Miniatures in ivory were prized by the Mughal rulers, and this art reached perfection during their rule. Agra, Fatehpur Sikri and Jaipur were the main centres of ivory industry. Even after the decline of the Mughal empire this industry continued to flourish. But for want of patronage the number of artists has been gradually decreasing. And today there are left only a few craftsmen who turn out exquisite models and dainty images in ivory, such as those of the Taj and other historical buildings as well as of saints, religious reformers and national heroes and leaders. Agra also specialises in the manufacture of ivory boxes, pen-cases, perfume-holders, toilet sets, etc.

Another enterprise of great artistic value, still pursued in the town of Agra and some other places in the country, is the manufacture of a variety of articles made of marble or alabaster or soap-stone. Skilled artisans, apprenticed to the craft ever since their boyhood, produce works of great delicacy and aesthetic appeal which find a ready market at home and abroad.

Pottery and Metal Work

The Mughal period, being an era of peace, stability and royal patronage of the arts, other crafts such as ornamental pottery and metal work were also highly developed all over Northern India. As the Hindus have prejudice against the use of porcelain and other kinds of earthenware, pottery could not naturally attain a high state of refinement during the Hindu period. In Hindu houses all utensils have to be scrubbed every day before they can be used again, and as far as clay vessels are concerned, they are used only once, and then thrown away. Muhammadans have no such scruples. The Mughals, therefore, introduced costly earthenware and imported utensils made of porcelain from abroad. This industry not only flourished because it was profitable, but it also reached a high standard of excellence during the Mughal period. Ornamental brassware, silver, gold and other metal vessels with inlay work (*koft-gari*) were turned out on a large scale. *Bidri* pots were also manufactured. Dainty carved vessels, brass toys, embossed shields decorated with figures of heroes and heroines, vases on salvers with engraved signs of the Zodiac, metal trays in high relief, perforated and embossed lamps, water pots of various kinds, coffee sets, water flasks of varied workmanship, censers with stands, etc., were specially famous products in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. All work was done by hand, and the artists displayed infinite patience, skill of a high order, accuracy of detail, and a highly developed sense of design and form. Lack of patronage and other causes, however, led to the complete extinction of this local industry during later ages.

Jeweller's and goldsmith's art

The Mughal kings, and especially their consorts, spent lavishly on jewellery. Not only the ladies but their menfolk also used to wear ornaments made of gold, jewels and emeralds, rubies and other precious stones. Besides, they needed rare and precious stones for decorating their thrones, furniture, and even their palace buildings. This provided a great impetus to the jeweller's and goldsmith's art. The royal court set the fashion in jewellery as well as in dress for the rest of India. This was particularly so in the time of Nur Jahan and Mumtaz

Mahal who were great connoisseurs of these arts. It is not easy to give a description of the various kinds of ornaments in use during the Mughal period, for the subject is highly technical and our museums do not have all the specimens of jewellery used in that period. It may, however, be safely presumed that feminine jewellery—specially that worn in the ears, the neck and on the hands—must have been much more in demand than in our own times. The Mughal kings were also expected to give costly ornaments in return for presents received from their vassals and officers, and they had, therefore, in their employ a large number of goldsmiths and jewellers. Hence, these arts showed a steady development and continued to flourish in those days.

The Mughal emperors were very fond of jewels. Humayun acquired the celebrated Koh-i-Noor diamond from the family of Raja Bikramjit of Gwalior. Akbar had a rich and rare collection of jewels, including a large number of extremely fine rubies which were made into two rosaries, each valued at ten lakhs of rupees. Jahangir's jewels, many of which were inherited from Akbar, included 1½ maunds of unset diamonds, 12 maunds of pearls, one maund of rubies, 5 maunds of emeralds, one maund of jane, besides jewelled ornaments and furniture. Shahjahan, of all the Mughal emperors, was passionately fond of jewels and possessed personal jewellery worth 5 crores of rupees, besides that worth 2 crores which he presented to the members of the royal family. He had a peacock throne made of pure gold studded with jewels. It was carried away to Persia by Nadir Shah in 1739, and now it cannot be traced anywhere in the world. The workmanship and value of jewellery owned by the ladies of the imperial harem baffle description. The nobility, the official class and other well-to-do persons imitated their ruler's love of jewellery and ornaments. It became the fashion for everyone who could afford it to possess jewels and gold and silver ornaments. With the decline and fall of the Mughal empire and the consequent poverty of the upper and middle classes, the art went on deteriorating throughout the age that followed.

The Textile Art

Since time immemorial India has been famous for her textile art and industry. The art of weaving cotton and silk cloths was highly developed and flourished long before the advent of the Arabs and the Turks. Muslim sultans did much to encourage and develop the variety and richness of embroidery. Being themselves very fond of it, they had workshops of their own inside the palace, and employed skilled artisans who embroidered with coloured cotton, silk and metal thread on cloth of various kinds. The Mughals were fond of shawls and encouraged their manufacture in Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, Delhi, Kashmir and the Punjab. They also employed in their workshops or *karkhanas* a large number of artisans who produced shawls, *kinkhab* and other kinds of embroidery work. Carpets and curtains and hangings were much in demand at the court and these were manufactured in the royal *karkhanas* at Agra and Fatehpur Sikri. These carpets and curtains were highly decorative pieces, with their intricate designs and variety of ornamentation, and were remarkable for their harmony of colours. Much of the textile art has now disappeared from the old centres. The carpet industry is still there, but it is no longer the fine art it was during the days of the Mughals.

Gardens

Gardens had existed in India long before the advent of the Mughals ; but they were not geometrical in design and lay-out. Babar brought to our country the new style in garden which had been developed in Persia and Turkistan, and whose chief characteristics were "artificial irrigation in the form of channels and tanks and dwarf water-falls, so built that the water brimmed to the level of the path on either side ; and the plan involved a series of terraces on sloping ground, usually numbering eight, to correspond with the eight divisions of the Quranic paradise ; but sometimes seven to symbolise the seven planets. The main pavilion was built on the topmost terrace and sometimes on the lowest terrace in order to enable the occupant to have an uninterrupted view of foliage and the water-fall."

The first Mughal garden in India was laid out by Babar at Agra and was named *Hasht-Bihisht* or *Nur-i-Afshān*. Its ruins can be seen even today on the other side or eastern bank of the river Yamuna. It is now popularly known as Rām Bāgh. Humayun also, gifted as he was with great aesthetic sense, must have beautified his residences with flower and fruit gardens. Akbar followed the example of his ancestors and laid out beautiful gardens in Agra fort, Fatehpur Sikri and other places. But the most remarkable and the largest garden associated with his name is that at Sikandra, where he lies buried. In the centre of this garden stands his beautiful mausoleum. The plan of the garden is a fourfold plot, surrounded by a huge enclosure with four garden gates in the centre of the four walls. The chambers and water courses are paved with fine ceramic-ware and are lined with cypress, pine, and palm trees and also many beautiful flowering plants.

The Mughal garden was brought to perfection during the reign of Jahangir who laid out most elegant gardens wherever he lived for any length of time. One of his most charming gardens is the Shalimar at Srinagar in Kashmir with its background of snow-clad mountains, and commanding a view of the beautiful Dal lake. The other important gardens constructed during his reign were the tomb gardens of Itmad-ud-Daulah at Agra and his own at Shahdara near Lahore. Both these follow the same plan as that of the garden at Sikandra, and have a series of raised fountains, tanks and eight large terraces.

Shahjahan was equally interested in gardens and his Anguri Bagh in the Agra fort, the garden around the mausoleum of Mumtaz Mahal in the Taj, and the Shalimar garden near Lahore, are the most important. He laid out gardens in the Delhi fort also. The Mughal nobility and official classes imitated the example of their sovereigns and the result was that suburbs of Agra and Fatehpur Sikri and other important cities in the country became dotted with beautiful flower and fruit gardens.

Aurangzeb who denied himself many other pleasures had no particular fondness for gardens also. Nevertheless, the art of gardening did not disappear from the country, though it fell from the high standard of excellence that it had attained during the reign of the early Mughal emperors. Many of the Mughal gardens have suffered damage with the passage of time and at the hands of man. Many have altogether disappeared. But those that remain are enough to show that they must have been worthy of the sentiments inscribed on the gate of the Shalimar garden near Lahore: "Sweet is this garden through the envy of which the tulip is spotted ; the rose of the sun and the moon forms its beautiful lamp."

These lines can be applied with equal force to the gardens of the Taj Mahal, Itmad-ud-Daulah and Sikandra.

Rajeshkumar Gambhava

16

Impact of Islam on Hindu Society and Vice Versa

When the Arabs and the Turks had conquered India and settled down in the country, they came into close contact with the indigenous population. It was natural that they should influence the Hindu society and culture and be themselves influenced in turn. But it is significant that the clash of these two powerful religions and cultures did not produce any real fertilising effect on the medieval Indian society. Whereas the contact of India with the British people and the Western civilization brought about a profound renaissance in the ninteenth century, there was no such phenomenon in the medieval age. The reason perhaps was that in the early days of the British rule Indians, particularly the Hindus, were so hypnotised by the dazzling success of the material aspects of the Western civilization, the merits of the English language and the disciplined and sympathetic character of the British people that they readily fell in with them and felt that the British rule was a divine dispensation. On the contrary they did not notice any such virtues in the Islamic peoples and their culture which repelled them on account of its rigidity and iconoclastic character, and looked upon them as 'unclean'. The Muslims at the same time dubbed the Hindus as *Kafirs* (infidels), fit only to be sent to hell, and believed their religion and culture to be definitely superior. Hence there was no sympathetic understanding of each other's religion and culture, no give and take in a real sense, and no renaissance. Whatever mutual impact there was during centuries of contact of the two civilisations was due to the accident of their living together in the same land rather than to any enthusiasm on their part to learn from each other for their mutual benefit.

Nevertheless the history of impact of Hinduism and Islam upon each other is a theme of absorbing interest. In the 8th and 9th centuries A.D. the Arabs had settled in large numbers on the Western coast in Southern India, and it was there that the two religions, for the first time, began to influence each other. Northern India remained immune from Islamic influence until the Arab conquest of Sindh. A scholar of eminence has recently propounded the theory that the concept of the unity of God was a gift of Islam to India. He makes us believe that the great Shankaracharya, who flourished during the later years of the 8th and the early years of the 9th century A.D., was so much influenced by Islamic theology as to have borrowed the theory of unity of God from his contact with Muslisms. It may be asked : if Shankaracharya really borrowed his theory of monism from Islam, why did he fail to condemn and denounce image-worship which is a cardinal doctrine of Islamic theology ? Moreover, can it not be said that two different people might develop a similar line of thought, religious or secular, quite independently of each other ? How very much can it be true of Shankaracharya's *Advait* philosophy when it is realised on all hands that its germs are found in our *Shrutis* and that what he preached was only the logical development of the truth embodied in the Vedas and the Upanishads. Be that as it may, in Northern India, at any rate, the presence of the Turks and Afghans did not produce a revolutionary effect on Hindu religious thought and practices. The bhakti movement, as has been explained elsewhere in this book, was not the direct fruit of the contact between Hinduism and Islam. The teeming millions during the period remained practically unaffected so far as their religious thoughts and practices were concerned. In fact even now after a lapse of more than 800 years of contact between Hinduism and Islam, the Hindu masses in the rural areas hardly betray any substantial influence of Islamic ideas and practices in their religious beliefs, food, dress and way of life. The upper class Hindus no doubt showed a keen desire to bring about a compromise between the two religious communities. Both in the north and in the south they extended a very generous treatment to the new-comers. Everywhere the foreign Muslims were accorded a place of honour and allowed freely to make converts to their religion. Most of the Hindu leaders, reformers and teachers preached the gospel of unity and friendliness. Nanak and Kabir, for instance, emphasised the fact that Hinduism and Islam were two different paths leading to the same destination, and that Ram and Rahim, Krishna and Karim, Allah and Ishwar, were different names of the same Almighty. They deprecated priestly ritualism and formalities of both religions, and emphasized devotion and true piety. But the Muslims, as a class, kept themselves aloof, and failed to appreciate the Hindu attempt at a compromise.

The Hindu society was influenced by the presence of Islam in our midst in two respects. Firstly, the missionary zeal of Islam which aimed at converting the Hindu population, strengthened conservatism in our ranks. The Hindu leaders believed that the one way of saving their religion and culture from the onslaught of Islam was to make themselves as orthodox in outlook and practice as possible. So, attempts were made to make caste rules more rigorous. Daily rules of conduct were prescribed with a rigidity that was unknown before. New rules of conduct were formulated in our *Smritis*. Hindu scholars and reformers, like Madhav, Visvesvara and others, wrote works and commentaries prescribing a rigid religious life for the people. Early marriage was brought in. It was said that the proper age of marriage for girls was seven, and that a marriage after 11 or 12 was sinful. Strict *purdah* was enforced. Strict rules for diet, marriage and daily conduct were prescribed. Secondly, some of the democratic principles of Islamic social organisation were borrowed by the Hindus. The Hindu reformers stressed the equality of castes and preached that birth was no bar to religious salvation. The bhakti cult, though not a direct result of the impact of Islam on Hinduism, was, nevertheless, influenced to some extent by the presence of Islam in our midst. Hindu reformers and preachers preached the fundamental equality of all religions and the unity of Godhead. Sufism also influenced the Hindu society to some extent. The eastern variety of sufism is an off-shoot of Hindu Vedant, and, as some of the sufi saints (specially of the Chishti order who lived and acted like Hindu saints and adopted a sympathetic attitude towards the Hindus), could not fail to attract the attention of the Hindu community. From the time of Akbar onward the contact between the upper class Hindus and of the Muslim sufi saints became quite close. They exerted great influence on the Hindus. Moreover, the proselytising activities of the Muslims could not have failed to bring home to the Hindu leaders the fact that a certain amount of liberal treatment towards the Sudras and the untouchables was essential in the interest of the Hindu community.

The Islamic influence on the upper class Hindu society was reflected in the latter's dress, food and social manners. It is clear from the accounts of foreign travellers that during the Mughal age the Hindu and Muslim gentry put on practically the same kind of dress, and that the only marked difference was that whereas the Muslims tied the strings of their coats on the right side, the Hindus did it on the left. Both put on a long *qaba* or coat coming down to the knees, a long-sleeved shirt and trousers. In some parts of Northern India Hindu women changed sāri for the Muslim *ghaghra* or *shalwār*. Turban was the common head-dress. But the Hindu masses and mostly the priestly class remained unaffected by Islamic influence. In the matter of food also upper class Hindus, particularly those who were in state service, borrowed non-vegetarian dishes from the Musalmans.

Pulao, kabab, kofta, etc., became favourite dishes of the well-to-do Persian-educated Hindus of the Mughal age, many of whom also adopted Muslim social manners, their ceremonious courtesy, and their form of behaviour and salutation.

The Muslim contact produced some effect on Hindu literature, but in the beginning this influence was slight. For nearly 300 years the Hindus did not take to the study of Persian or Arabic. For the first time during the reign of Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517) some of them began to read Persian and a few of them were probably permitted to join Muslim maktabs or primary schools. It is for this reason that the Sanskrit and Hindi works of the Sultanate period do not betray any appreciable Islamic influence on their style or themes. Towards the end of the Tughluq period, however, we find some kind of literary communion between the Hindus and the Musalmans. It was during the reign of Firoz Tughluq that a few Muslim scholars rendered certain Sanskrit or Apabhransa romances into Hindi, though the script in which these were written was Persian. From the time of Akbar onward there was no doubt a meeting ground between Hindu and Muslim scholars and, therefore, it was in the 16th century for the first time that Hindu literary men and reformers began to be influenced by Islamic ideas. But it was not until the time of Shahjahan (1628-1658) that Hindu scholars could produce independent works in the Persian language. The famous diplomat Chandra Bhan Brahman was one of the earliest Hindu authors in that language. During the reign of Aurangzeb (1658-1707) two Hindu histories of that emperor, and in the eighteenth century numerous works on sufism and history were produced in Persian by the members of this community. Indian languages too were influenced by Persian, Arabic and Turki, and numerous words of these languages entered into Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Rajasthani and other Indian languages in the north and to a lesser extent in the south. A very important cultural impact of Islam was the birth of the Urdu language, a product of the joint efforts of the two communities.

Some other aspects of social and recreational life and activity were also influenced by Islamic contact. For example, "hunting, hawking and many other games became Muhammadanised in method and terminology."

Another result of Islamic contact was the development of the art of war, as we have seen in the Second Chapter. The Mughal system of warfare had revolutionised the Indian politics in the 16th century. The Hindu rajas in the early medieval period commanded petty forces or the confederation of petty contingents which did not obey one supreme commander. The Muslim rulers, on the other hand, had large armies which were commanded by one supreme general. This gave them greater opportunities for the display of generalship. The introduction of artillery and a new mode of warfare, revolutioned the system of defence which the Hindu rulers were now able to put up in their strong castles in Rajasthan and other inaccessible regions.

The most remarkable result of the impact of Islam was in the domain of fine arts, particularly in architecture. The Hindus did not disdain to borrow freely whatever appeared to them to be useful and beautiful, and this trait is reflected in the Hindu buildings erected during the second half of the 16th century and the whole of the 17th and 18th centuries. Rajput rulers readily imitated the Mughal style of architecture and introduced it in their palaces. Hindu temples even could not remain immune from the influence of the Mughal architectural forms. For example, many temples of Vrindaban assimilated the Mughal style of architecture. "There is much," writes Percy Brown, "that is original in the temples of Brindaban, but in few other Hindu buildings is the influence of the prevailing style of the Muslims more obvious than in the temple of Govind Deo." As regards the Mughal influence on the palaces of Hindu rajas, the most notable examples are the buildings 'in the romantic city of Amber,' the palaces of Bikaner, the palace-fortresses of Jodhpur and Orchha, the palace of Datia and the Bhawans of Deeg. "It is not difficult to see in such buildings how the stone structures of the early Mughals by the addition of engrailed arches, glass mosaics, painted plaster, gilded gesso and sgraffito were adapted to the more colourful requirements of the Hindu princes." (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 548)

In painting too the Mughal period made a distinct advance and the Mughal School of Painting considerably influenced the Hindu ideas, technique and form of the art. The fusion of the original Chinese-cum-Persian painting which was brought to India by the Mughals with the indigenous art opened out new vistas for the Indian artist and caused a revolutionary change in the ancient Hindu technique of painting. The result was that the Indian artists displayed the highest talent in the art of portrait and mural painting. The impact of the Mughal art completely transformed the Rajput School of Painting and became responsible for the birth of the Kangra School in the eighteenth century.

The Mughals greatly improved the medieval Indian garden by introducing geometrically designed pleasances. These were generally divided into eight terraces on sloping ground and had "artificial irrigation in the form of channels, basins or tanks and dwarf water-falls, so built that the water brimmed to the level of the path on either side..." The main pavilion was built on the topmost terrace and sometimes on the last terrace in order to enable the occupant to have an uninterrupted view of the foliage and the water-falls. This system was adopted in all parts of India and contributed to the development of aesthetic taste and love of gardens among the people.

The Muslims too were greatly influenced by the Hindu social organisation, culture and civilisation. The Indian converts to Islam could not but retain some of their Hindu notions and practices. The worship of saints and shrines was only another form of Hindu predilection for local and tribal gods which the converts could not shake off. The Muslim festivals began to be celebrated in this country with pomp and display like the Hindu festivals. The festival of *Shab-i-Barat* was celebrated like the Hindu festival of *Shivaratri*, with a night-long vigil, bustle and noise. The ceremonies of *aqiqa* and *bismillah* were observed in much the same way as the Hindu *mundan* and *vidyarambh* *sanskar*. Some of the Hindu ceremonies followed in marriage influenced the Muslim marriage ceremonies, especially the decoration of the bride. The *haft-o-nuh* is only another name of the *solah-shringar* of the Hindu bride. The Hindu caste system too exercised its influence on the democratic Muslim society. Even in the early days of the Sultanate of Delhi a Turk, a Pathan, a Sayyid, or even a Shaikh "would never think of a matrimonial alliance with a person of a lower rank, that is, one outside these four *dhāts* or *qaums*, or even outside his own particular denomination."[1] The Muslims adopted some of the costly Indian aricles of dress, such as, *pāg* (ornamental turban), *chirā*, etc. Even the sultans borrowed freely the Hindu *chhatra* and other royal paraphernalia. In the matter of food and toilet the Muslims were very greatly influenced by the Hindus. The chewing of the betel-leaf became popular with them. Highly seasoned food with rich spices and chillies and the various items of culinary art were adopted by all classes of Musalmans. The use of ornaments, such as, rings, necklaces, earrings, etc., which were forbidden by the Islamic law, began to be used by rich Musalmans. "India was famous for its fine cotton and silk fabrics, which now began to be widely used by the gentry among the Muslims who had been accustomed to much humbler and coarser stuffs in their original homelands."

Muslim religious thought and practices were also influenced by Hinduism, though to a very small extent indeed. "The cumulative effect of the presence in large number of such saints and ascetics (as qalandars and begging friars) was," writes Dr. Waheed Mirza, "the transformation of Islam in India from a simple and puritanic religion, with emphasis on the performance of outward legal duties (*takālif-i-shariya*) to a complex devotional creed in which miracles and superstitions, combined, of course, with saint-worship, played an important role. It became a common practice now to get oneself attached to a spiritual preceptor, who alone, according to the popular belief, could guarantee bliss and happiness in this life and the life here-after."[1] Muslim mysticism, particularly sufism, could not fail to derive inspirations from the Hindu Vedant ; some of the Muslim scholars were attracted to the study of Hindu philosophy like Yog and Vedant. Some studied Hindu medicine and astrology.

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[1] *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 608.

The Islamic architecture, which the foreigners had brought with them, was so greatly modified by Hindu art tradition that it ceased to be purely Islamic. As we have seen elsewhere, the buildings erected by the rulers of the Sultanate period and those of the Mughal times were the result of the united genius and efforts of the Hindus and Musalmans alike. From the time of Akbar onward Muslims took to Hindu painting which had modified the Chinese-cum-Persian painting that the Mughal had brought to India. They also took to Hindu music and some other fine arts. Though they retained Persian as their court and literary language, it became necessary for them to make compromise with the indigenous languages and the result was the birth of Urdu. Thus, there gradually emerged a linguistic synthesis as a result of our mutual contact. Similarly, Muslim manners and customs were also greatly influenced. Some of the aristocratic Muslim families assimilated the Hindu custom of *Sati* and *Jauhar*. Mr. Titus is right when he says : "When all is said there seems to be little doubt that Hinduism has wrought a far greater change in Islam than Islam has wrought in Hinduism which still continues to pursue the even tenor of its ways with a complacency and confidence that are amazing."

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[1] *Ibid.* p. 607. Compare the adoration of the *guru* in Tulsi Das's Ramayana.